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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—DUNS SCOTUS.

DUNS SCOTUS, the Doctor Subtilis of Scholasticism, is the least known of the great lights of the Middle Ages. Really it may be said of him, *Stat nominis umbra*. While Thomas Aquinas, the darling of the Romish Church, is every-where extolled, and his writings have been commented on in every age, till they seem submerged beneath the weight of his expositors, Scotus has had but little sympathy outside his school, and but few competent historians of his doctrine. Erdmann's account of him, though brief, is comprehensive, and Ritter's exposition is one of his best pieces of work. Haureau, with his brilliant dash, gives but a travesty of his doctrine. Stöckl, with his sturdy German honesty, does him fair justice, though devoting only ninety pages to Duns, and over three hundred to Thomas. The French writers, Cousin, Rousselot, and others, fail to appreciate him fitly, with the single exception of Morin in his Dictionary of Scholastic Theology and Philosophy. None of the Church historians do him justice, with the exception of Baur, both in his Church History and History of Doctrines. Last year (1881) Dr. Karl Werner wrote a book of 512 pages, 8vo, devoted to his system, but in language so scholastic and so completely a transfer of Duns' own modes of expression, that it is about as easy to read the barbarous original as Werner's Exposition. Certainly it is not likely to make Scotus

any better known than before. His name, which signifies darkness in Greek, has been the occasion of many a pun, while his cognomen has given us the word dunce, as if his very subtilty were an indication of the want of intellectual vigor—"dark by excess of light."

John Duns Scotus was probably born in the year 1274, in the village of Dun or Dunum, whence his name. Scotus points to the country of his birth; but as Ireland as well as Scotland is indicated by the term, it is not absolutely certain which was his native land. Still Scotland seems to have the preference, in accord with the inscription on his tomb:

"Scotia me genuit,
Anglia me suscepit,
Gallia me docuit,
Colonia me tenet."

It is narrated that he was dull in his boyhood, and had no aptitude for learning. Tradition tells us that the future champion of the Immaculate Conception of Mary called upon the mother of God to illuminate his mind, and that amid his tearful struggles he fell asleep. The virgin mother appeared to him and promised the gift of learning on condition of his faithful service in her cause. This was the beginning of a new intellectual life.

We know not when he became a brother of the Minorite Order, nor yet the course of his early studies. At all events we find him in Oxford, England, before 1300, and in Merton College. Amid the dearth of information regarding his favorite studies, we learn that he was especially devoted to mathematics, and that about 1300 he was called to the Chair of Theology vacated by his master. It was at Oxford that he wrote his Commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, making six volumes of his collected works. In 1304 we find him in Paris, whither he was called to hold a public disputation on the subject of the claims of Mary, and as a champion of the Franciscan Order. It was in this contest too that he won his title of "Subtle Doctor," at the suggestion of Pope Clement V. or of the Bishop of Paris. The chivalric knight of the honors of Mary was often called Doctor Marianus. It was at Paris that he wrote the *Reportata*, a new Commentary on the Master of Sentences, less full and valuable than the Oxford work.

This is known as the Paris work, and occupies one of his folio volumes.

He left Paris in 1308 for Cologne. It is uncertain on what mission he went thither, in obedience to the rescript of Gonsalvi, the general of the order. It was certainly in the interest of the Franciscans, and probably to meet the growing fanaticism of the Beguines and the Apostolic Brothers, who then swarmed at Cologne. We encounter a significant feature of the discipline of the Minorite Order when we read of the unhesitating obedience with which Scotus obeyed the commands of his chief. The letter was handed him as he was taking recreation in the vicinity of Paris, with his pupils around him; but he girded himself for his journey without returning to his convent. In answer to the suggestion that he should return to Paris and bid adieu to his friends, he answered, "The general father orders me to go to Cologne, not to the convent in order to salute the brethren."

At Cologne he expounded the Sentences of Lombard, defended the Thesis of the Immaculate Conception, and fought the heretical sects with all his powers.

But the end was near. Before the year 1308 had passed away he died suddenly, at the age of thirty-four. He was buried in the Franciscan Convent, at the entrance of the sacristy, near the altar of the Three Kings.

The report has gone forth, and it has really great probability, that he was committed to the tomb in an epileptic fit. When consciousness returned, finding himself in darkness, and abandoned to his terrible fate, he tore the flesh from his hands and dashed his head against the walls of his tomb. According to the declaration of more than one writer, he was found as thus described, stretched out on the pavement of his tomb. His foes declared that he must thus have expiated some terrible crime unknown to the world. His friends put quite another face upon the matter. He had long been subject to the falling sickness, at which times he was unconscious for many hours. Having been so short a time in Cologne among strangers, and his disciples having found him one day stiff and cold, as in death, they mourned over him as really dead, and accordingly placed him in the tomb. His friends say still further that these trances, to which he was subject, were the issue of

his holy life, for in these ecstasies his soul took flight to the skies and basked in the mysteries of God.

The curse of Shakspeare upon the man who should move his bones might well have been adopted by Scotus, for his remains were disinterred five times in 400 years.

These traditions of his sanctity are not necessarily inconsistent with the impetuosity of the man, which is betrayed everywhere in his writings. It seems difficult, however, to conceive of him as playing the quietistic rôle or wrapt in ecstatic visions. Yet experiences of his are related similar to that of Catharine of Sienna, who wore on her finger the espousal ring given her by the Holy Child.

Certainly he clung to his vow of poverty and exemplified humility even in dress and bearings. A Latin verse speaks of him as

> "Quem vestis vilis, pes nudus,
> Et chorda coronant."

When on his way to Cologne a crowd went forth to greet him, the magistrates of the city among them. They met a man, clad in the gray robe of the Franciscans, old and tattered. His naked feet and his low estate moved their pity and called forth alms. What was their surprise to discover that they had fallen in with the world-renowned Duns! It casts a light upon the university life of those days to read of his encounter with one of his great contemporaries. One day at Paris, amid the crowd of his auditors, he remarked a man of unprepossessing appearance, and covered with rags. He did not seem to be *en rapport* with the discourse of the master. He muttered his disapproval of the argument, and at a crucial point of the discussion shook his head in absolute denial. Scotus noticed this, and sought to humiliate him by a simple question in grammar. So singling him out, he proposed this: *Dominus, quæ pars?* that is, What part of speech is Dominus? Instantly came back the retort, *Dominus non est pars, sed totum.* The master saw by this that here was a diamond in the rough, and after his lecture he invited the stranger to converse with him on the divine mysteries. The results of this conversation were afterward embodied in the treatise, *Dominus, quæ pars?* for the stranger was no less a man than Raymond Lull.

Duns is said often to have tried his hand at argument with the common people, of which we have one instance at least. One day in England he encountered in a field a peasant sowing barley. Angry at being obliged to labor he vomited forth frightful oaths, while the great scholar called his attention to the ten commandments. In vain, for the rustic replied, "You lose your time in talking to me. The will of God will come to pass, since he knows from eternity what will become of me. Well, then, if he has resolved to save me or to damn me, it matters not what I do, for I shall go to the place appointed, be it heaven or be it hell." Scotus now turned the tables upon him by this retort: "If God has, as you believe, imposed from all eternity such a necessity upon things, why do you trouble yourself to sow grain in your field? If God has determined that this barley shall grow here, whether you sow it or not, it will nevertheless grow. If, on the contrary, he has determined that it shall not grow, whatever you may do, it will never sprout from the earth." Whether this story be true or not, it is certainly in the spirit of Duns Scotus. As the Italian proverb has it, "If it is not true, it is well invented."

The Subtle Doctor left behind him twelve folio volumes, edited in 1639, mainly by Luke Wadding. His works are rare, there being no copy of them in Boston, to my knowledge, and one must needs make a pilgrimage to Cambridge to find them in the library of Harvard University. Besides these published works he left numerous commentaries on the Scriptures. He wrote on most of the books of the New Testament and on some of the Old. Besides, he left an ecclesiastical work on the Perfection of States, and some books on alchemy. Were all his works published, they would, it is likely, reach the number which Thomas wrote—seventeen volumes folio—and he lived fifteen years longer than his great antagonist, dying in the year in which Scotus was born. What amazing fertility of thought and what boundless capacity for work is shown in such a library left by a young man of thirty-four years of age!

If we seek now to give a general view of the work of Duns, we shall see that his industry was guided by a philosophic interest rather than a theologic. Of course the latter is not ignored, and he seeks to keep within Church lines. Had he not made theology his main business he would not have been

a Scholastic. The industry of Scholasticism is directed to a vindication of the doctrine of the Church, and philosophy is used for this purpose. But philosophy is the maid of theology, the Hagar who may be banished into the wilderness if need be, whose work is ancillary ever. Show, if possible, the harmony of faith and reason, but if there be any parallax, philosophy must step aside.

Now the work of Duns Scotus was mainly philosophic. He fixed his attention upon the system of vindication rather than the doctrine itself. The philosophic forms which had gathered around theology, properly so called, gave scope for his criticism and a wide field for his subtilty, making him appear, as Wadding says, like a new Œdipus. He philosophized upon the scholastic philosophy rather than upon the scholastic theology. Erdmann and others have called attention to this. Albert and Thomas reflected on doctrine; Duns reflects upon this reflection, sifts the reasoning of his predecessors, and drives a coach and four through their lacunæ. In Thomas, scholasticism reached its consummate flower, the ideal which Albert never attained. Scotus summons scholasticism to see what she has done, and picks out the artificial petals of the lily of the Angelic Doctor. The chasm then between theology and philosophy still yawned before Scotus, for the substructions of the bridge which St. Thomas had constructed were not laid in the nature of things. Scotus, then, forms the transition between the old and the new, between mediævalism and modern thought. He builded wiser than he knew, for from him has started the better philosophy, whose hour struck with Descartes. Walter Burleigh and William of Occam were without doubt among his hearers. Occam is the watershed from which begins the flow of modern philosophy. He is the outcome of Scotus, of the same Franciscan Order. Besides, the Formalists, as they were called who were of the school of Scotus, by natural and easy transition passed into the Nominalists, of whom Occam was chief. William was no such extravagant Nominalist as Roscellin, to whom Universals were words, and nothing more, but stands quite on the platform of that sober nominalism which marks modern philosophy. Roscellin was a Nominalist of the school of Hobbes and Bain, while Occam has great affinities with Leibnitz and Lotze. To see the full outcome of

Scotus we need often to pass down to Occam, and even to Nicholas of Cusa and Bruno.

The actual result of Scotus' work is in most respects nearer the truth than that of Aquinas. He really breaks with scholasticism, and yet hesitates to draw the ultimate consequences. He stands on the brink of a great discovery, and yet shrinks back from the promulgation. Hence the contradictions to be found in his system. No exposition of scholastic doctrine is complete which stops with St. Thomas. It must also present the view of Scotus. Generally, when the latter takes issue with the former he is right, enlarging the scope of mediæval doctrine and emancipating thought. Scotus' errors lie close to his grandest thoughts. He is the knight-errant of freedom in both God and man. There has never been a more uncompromising statement of freedom than Scotus makes, and yet the modern advocates of the doctrine seem strangely ignorant of his work. But in this field lie also his errors. In almost every case his deficiencies grow out of a one-sided apprehension of divine and human freedom.

Let us now pass on to special applications of Scotus' doctrine, whereby may be seen the truth of these general assertions:

1. Consider the transformations undergone by the scholastic doctrine of matter and form under the hand of Scotus. The scholastics inherited the traditions of Aristotle. All their thinking was concerned with the charmed rubrics of form and matter, of actuality and potentiality. The lowest stage of being, or first matter, was considered as wholly destitute of form, and the highest, or God, was destitute of matter, for he was *purus actus*. All between these extremes was compounded of matter and form. But really matter without form cannot exist, for Thomas says: "First matter does not exist in the nature of things by itself, since it is not being actually but potentially." So also, true to the peripatetic thought, he says, "Form is that by which the agent acts."

Not so Scotus. He denies that matter is a mere potence, which, apart from form, has no actual being. Rather must we ascribe to it a being apart from form. Though always in juxtaposition with form, it has its being as matter not from form, but from the divine creation. Matter, even as the principle of

passivity in an essence, must be something actual, else it could not be distinguished from form, and no composite could arise. It may be indefinite, but it is a divine creation without form and before form. In fine, he declares that matter has the entitative act in itself, and not in form. We may scout this whole mode of argumentation, but on the plane of scholasticism it was an advance to something better. At all events it was a break with the system thus shaken to its base.

Again, Thomas had declared that matter in the heavens and on the earth is not the same. In the sublunary region, change rules, or generation and corruption; but these are excluded from the realm of the heavenly bodies.

This again Scotus denied. Matter is the same every-where, and it may be studied in the light of the same laws throughout the universe. Matter, said he, may be predicated of all created things *univoce*. According to his graphic picture, "the world is a beautiful tree, whose root and germ is first matter, whose leaves are accidents, whose boughs and branches are corruptible creatures, whose flower is the rational soul, and whose fruits are the angels." In another form Scotus represents matter as the common root from which go forth two boughs, the spiritual and the corporeal creature, each again splitting into various twigs, the spiritual into angels and human souls, the corporeal into corruptible and incorruptible bodies. To assert, with Thomas, that the matter of the heavenly bodies is diverse from that on earth, was in the spirit of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy: to assert the identity of matter every-where is to bring it under the sway of universal laws, is to anticipate Nicholas of Cusa, who asserted the motion of the earth before Copernicus.

Once more, Thomas declares that the soul is the form of the body. It stands related to it as form to matter, as actuality to potentiality. Independent validity is denied to the body, whose activity seems to come wholly from the soul. Such, at least, is the trend of the Thomist doctrine. Now Scotus brings in something entirely new. There is a substantial form of the body as such, a form by which the body exists as organic body. This Scotus calls the form of corporeity or the form of the mixed. Thus the organic body is conditioned by another form than the soul. Thus body and soul are extricated from that

thorough interpenetration which they had in the scholastic thought, and assume a sort of independence of each other. It did not take long for this separation in thought to make way for a new science and to disentangle physiology from psychology, which absorbed all before. In fact, all these distinctions regarding matter, giving it a validity apart from form, indicate the passage of metaphysics from the idea of substantial forms to that of force, which is the modern notion. The *Possest* of Nicholas of Cusa and the Monad of Bruno are but stages in the progress from Scotus to Leibnitz.

Turn now to the position of Duns Scotus upon the question of Universals. It has been said by Haureau, in his "History of Scholastic Philosophy," that Scotus was more of a realist than Thomas. Haureau represents him, in fine, as adding to the scholastic refinements and realizing vastly more abstractions than had ever been done before. Erdmann tells us that there was no difference, on the question of universals or general ideas, between Thomas and Scotus, save that the latter declared them to exist *formally* in things. Still he does not seem to weigh this distinction properly, for the *formalities* of Scotus play a significant rôle in his system. To the question, Are Universals real or only abstractions from things? is, for instance, humanity a reality or only an abstraction from existent men? Albert and Thomas and Scotus all were agreed. Their answer was, Humanity exists as an archetype in the divine mind, as they said, before things—as the quiddity or essence in things—as an abstraction from them in our thought, after things. Thus, as Erdmann says, Scotus has left the contention between Realist and Nominalist behind him. The exact distinction between Thomas and Scotus, or the Realists and Formalists, was this. The Realists held to a twofold distinction, the real distinction and the mental. In this latter there was a further distinction, namely, purely mental and virtual; that is, without foundation in the thing, and with foundation in the thing. Universals. then, they held, were based upon a mental distinction, but with a foundation in the thing.

Now, the Formalists made a third distinction, lying between the real and the mental, namely, the formal. They called it "a distinction from the nature of the thing." It is less than the real, but more than the mental distinction. Thus, they said, in

actuality there are not only things but *formalities*. According to Scotus, "nature itself is of itself indifferent to universal and individual being." The individual is a unity which is incommunicable, but the universal is a unity which may be participated in by many individuals.

The comparative insignificance of the question of Universals to Scotus is seen in the fact that he devotes to it only seven or eight pages of his twelve folio volumes. That he is not an extreme Realist, as Hauneau asserts, is evident from his own words. Thus he says, "The universal, in so far as universal, is nothing in existence;" and again, "Universality or the *not this*, attaches to nothing except in the intellect." All his commentators, from Lychetus to Wadding, assert as his view that "the universal does not exist on the part of the thing." Besides, the Scotists generally had a warm side toward the Nominalists. It is true Mayronis pushed the realist doctrine to an extreme, but Peter Aureolus, of his school, immediately after found the way to nominalism.

The doctrine of formalities, then, played an important part in the system of Scotus. The exigency of the Trinitarian doctrine first called it forth. The persons of the Trinity, he said, were formalities, thinking thus to save the dogma of the Church. But it is evident that this whole doctrine of formalities is an utter break with scholasticism, which ever clung to matter and form as exhaustive of reality. Here was a new entity placed in the bosom of things. It needed only Occam to come into the tangled scholastic forest, and, with his hatchet of parsimony, to cut away all unnecessary entities.

Scotus may not be consistent with himself, but his utterances may be made harmonious with the essential truth of realism, which is this. Universals give us in outline the norm of the Divine procedure in creation. As Agassiz states it in reference to the animal kingdom, "in tracing (the natural system) the human mind is only translating into human language the Divine thoughts expressed in nature in living realities."

3. Let us pass now to the central question of Scotus, the principle of Individuation. Which is the truly real, the universal or the singular, the genus or the individual? The main question of realism lay behind Scotus, as we have seen; but how does he explain the individual? The question of In-

dividuation was one which occupied all the scholastics, and whose answer in Scotus opened the way through the forest of abstractions, and disclosed the path of modern science.

Abelard had said, each individual is composed of matter and form. The matter of Socrates is humanity, the form is Socratitas. Form in general, then, is the individuating principle with Abelard. Thomas made matter to be this principle, matter designated by certain dimensions, by the here and the now. For Socrates we must say this flesh and these bones, not flesh and bones absolutely. The current expression in the school was "matter quantitatively determined."

Now comes Scotus, and changes all this, introducing a destructive factor into the system. The principle of individuation cannot be matter, for this is generic, and individuality must come from elsewhere. It cannot be a negation or a deficiency, as matter is according to the Thomist view, but must rather be something positive and a perfection. The individual unity must be grounded in a positive entity, which is added to the generic nature. Now, this positive entity cannot be a mere accident like quantity, according to Thomas, but, as form to matter, it contracts the species to individual being. Thus, in general, form plays the rôle of individuation in the Scotist system; and its principle is "the last reality of form." Nevertheless, this last element is not to be considered a thing added to the species as another thing, but it is "the last reality of being." To this ultimate element Scotus himself, in one place at least, gives the name *Hæcceitas*, and his scholars commonly use this term. Hæcceity, then, or thisness, is to Scotus the principle of individuation. But the individual form is not distinguished from the specific, as thing from thing; rather the distinction is between two realities of the same thing. Here, again, comes in his doctrine of formalities, for it is a *formal* distinction. Scotus thus shows again that the rubrics of matter and form are not sufficient to account for individual being. He virtually introduces a new substantial principle in the line of form, which yet is the last reality of being. Thus the question of Universals is of but little consequence to Scotus, compared to that of the individual. It is true he does not draw out the full result of this great innovation. Of the essential and the individual, Thomas emphasizes only the

essential. Occam holds only to the individual. Scotus, in holding to both, and with persistency to the latter, breaks up scholasticism, and gives us to see in the distant perspective of the future the modern idea of force as substantial. The hæcceity of Scotus is the precursor of this notion through Nicholas and Bruno and Leibnitz.

Through this *aperçu* of Scotus the light broke in upon Peter Aureolus, who said, Every thing actual is, as such, individual; also upon Durandus, who said, The primal cause which gives being to the thing, gives it, *eo ipso*, individual being. Occam but repeated this in saying, that being and individual being are coincident.

The significance of the question of Individuation to Leibnitz may be seen in the fact that he wrote a dissertation on the subject quite early in his career, and thereby gained his Baccalaureate. He criticises Scotus, it is true, who was bound in the hamper of scholasticism, and held on to matter and form. Leibnitz broke with them utterly, and hence his dictum on this question is essentially the same with Aureolus and Occam: "Every individual is individuated by his whole entity." The entelechy of Aristotle becomes the monad, and the substantial forms of the scholastics become forces.

4. A great advance of thought is seen in Scotus' doctrine of God. Thomas had never succeeded in freeing himself from the apprehension of the Divine as substance. To him God is absolute being. Thought and will are only subordinate factors in the divine essence. Being thus, not necessarily conceived as spirituality, is the very heart of the Divine Essence. He has not disentangled himself from the notion of the Pseudo-Dionysius of the essential incognizability of God, for no predicates are applicable to him. God can be known only by dim and distant reflection of the external world. Thus the emphasis of the transcendence of God leads to a representation of him, after the spirit of Spinoza, as the absolute substance, in relation to which all other things and beings are but accidents. The immanence of God in the human soul, by which knowledge of God and communion with him are mediated, is ignored. As he then is the only true being, all definite existence is a mode of the Divine Substance. The solvent word with Aquinas is *participation*. The creature participates in being. Even the

bad, so far as it is anything real, comes from God. But since it is a defect, a limit, it does not come from the Divine Causality. The line which divides such a course of thought from Pantheism, it is evident, is hard to be drawn.

Now, in marked contrast with all this, Scotus emancipates himself from the notion of substance as applied to God, and represents him mainly as cause. His three primalities in God are first cause, final cause, and perfect being, which imply each other. The highest efficient cause must work for itself as end, and thus will be the perfect being. This absolutely perfect being must be *one*. From this he proceeds to show that it is infinite, then absolutely simple, no combination of potentiality and actuality. So Scotus eliminates the category of substance as relates to God, and is thoroughly in earnest with the notion of cause. Substance is an inadequate thought. God must be considered as subject. Hegel claimed to do this, but many fail to see that he has raised this category to its highest potency, making him really a person; certainly Scotus does this, which Aquinas failed to do, because it was utterly inconsistent with his notion of substance. Over against the shibboleth of Aquinas, which was *participation*, the solvent word with Scotus was *creation*. The creature is a *product* of the divine act. Participation or any category of quantity is wholly irrelevant here.

Now there is much of the thinking of to-day which has not disentangled itself from the notion of substance as the highest. Hamilton gives us some of this folly, even when he is discussing causality. "When God is said to create out of nothing," he writes, "we construe this to thought by supposing that he evolves existence out of himself. We are utterly unable to realize in thought the possibility of the complement of existence being either increased or diminished." Nevertheless, we submit, this is just what we mean by creation, if we leave the notion of substance behind us. God, in creation, posits the world and is no less in himself after creation than before. Creation has added to the sum of being. There is no other way to escape Pantheism.

An important question raised by Scotus is that regarding the Divine perfections or attributes. Are they grounded in the Divine nature, or are they merely our subjective modes of

viewing him? He answers that they are distinct, grounded in the Divine nature and not merely relative to our thought. Here again his doctrine of formalities plays its usual part. The distinction of the attributes is not an absolutely real one, but *formal*. There is not a diversity as between thing and thing, although this formal diversity he declares to be between realities. The statement of the younger Dr. Hodge regarding the Divine attributes shows that he has conned the pages of Duns. "The attributes differ among themselves," says the Princeton theologian, "not as distinct things, but as different tendencies and modes of existence and action of the same thing," that is, the Divine Substance. Schleiermacher is a distinguished example in modern times of the counter view regarding the attributes. This diversity, however, according to Duns, does not destroy the simplicity of the Divine Being, for all these perfections are infinite, and being expressive of the whole Divine Essence, are in this reference one.

Let us pass now to Scotus' notion of the freedom of God. Intellect and will are both to be asserted of him. They are not diverse from his essence, but rather identical with it. He relates them also to his trinitarian thought. The ultimate principle of the Divine Son is knowledge: the principle of the Divine Spirit is will or love. But will is deeper than intellect in God. Duns says expressly, "The will in God is his very essence." Still more the will does not depend ultimately upon intellect, but, he asserts, "from the nature of the thing, will is in God." So also from the the contingency which we observe in the world, we infer contingent causality or freedom in God. For singular contingent things there is no other ground to be asserted than the will of God. To take any further cause or reason is to fall into absurdity. Scotus asserts of God that he is *causa sui*. On the verge of a great thought, he yet draws back from the logical result of his system. In some places he asserts that God is *a se* with no limitation, but in the *Reportata* he declares he is *causa sui* in the negative sense, that his *principium* is from no other. He denies it there in the positive sense, declaring that no being has its *principium* from itself. Here is one of the places, we believe, when he holds back from the ultimate truth. That is just what distinguishes God from all other beings, that he is *causa sui* in the fullest sense.

This distinction has been looked at askance by theologians, but it is not a fearful specter if we boldly confront it. Let us pause to peer down into this abyss. Mayhap we shall in our dredging bring up mud, and haply we may find goodly pearls. What do the theologians mean by ascribing to God underived existence? What else do they mean by asserting him to be absolutely unconditioned, independent, and therefore self-existent? Self-existence is simply a less frightful way of saying *causa sui*. The tremor that comes over us when we make the assertion arises from the suspicion that we mean by it that God came forth from non-being into being. Thus, John Howe argues in this way: "It is also evident that some being was uncaused, or was ever of itself without any cause. For what never was from another had never any cause, since nothing could be its own cause, nor did it ever of itself step out of non-being into being." So conservative a theologian as Van Oosterzee asserts, "In himself he has the cause, the source, the power of his life; he is *causa sui*, precisely *because* he is the absolute infinite being." Does any say this is absurd? What may be absurd on the creature plain is not such as to the divine. Tutor Wordsworth in his Bampton Lecture of last year on "The One Religion," speaks of the apparent incompatibility of the two attributes, infinite and personal, as applied to God. He says, "This mystery, then, is a perfectly credible one, though completely inexplicable; and it is credible also *because* it is to us inexplicable." He further says, the *Credo quia absurdum* of Tertullian has much of the soberest common sense at the bottom. Julius Müller goes further in the same direction, telling us directly we must change the negative view of mere independence held by the older theologians into the positive one of *causa sui*. "His essence," he tells us, "is wholly his own deed;" and again, "the original being in his innermost ground is to be considered as intelligence determining itself, that is, as absolute personality; and once again he says, "God, in the original ground of his essence, is nothing else than will and freedom." So also Thomasius tells us we must place this distinction at the summit of our doctrine of God, since he is *causa sui* in the exact sense.

There are three philosophic stages of the doctrine of God, which should be carefully discriminated, namely, those of sub-

stance, of subject, and of person. As we have already said, our theological thinking has not fully lifted us out of the first stage, still less transformed the second into the full notion of personality. Our Christian consciousness obliges us to esteem God a person, and in our practical bearing we are right. But in our philosophic thinking we are sadly hampered by a fall back into the stage of substantiality.

There is a sense in which the achievement of personality in ourselves is our own deed. The natural foundation for it is given us by the divine. In infancy we are animals, but with this marked difference, that we have the germ of personality. If we ever become proper persons it will be by a true self-assertion, by a distinction which is also a comprehension. This is what Fichte calls the Promethean deed. Is it, then, irrational to suppose that God makes himself a person, eternally grasping, in the focus of personality, his being, which is, in the last analysis, will?

Certainly we must admit that man is a creator in the moral world. His character is his own product, for he makes himself what he is, and freedom has its fullest play here. Ought we then to hesitate to say that the Divine Nature is self-constituted, is God's own deed, from all eternity? Do we not strike at the pure idea of the ethical in the Divine if we cling to the notion that any thing in the Divine Nature is to be considered as given him, as already found? Do we not thus strike at the very root of the absolute?

The fact is, our finite thinking hesitates to repose except in that which is given. We cannot reach the full thought of self-origination. In some way, deny it as we will, we ever fly back to the thought that God's nature is not self-originated, but comes to him ready made. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*

We come to the abyss of the *causa sui*, and start back affrighted. Our metaphysical notion of being, in general, keeps us back from thorough thinking here. Our philosophy is infected with the notion of a dead core of being, of substance and attributes, of thing and activities. The truth is, being is activity. We are what we do. The soul is activity, and this is its very substance. It is maintained by the divine, incessantly reproduced by him. He, the final source of all being, and all

life is the self-centered activity. We see for a moment the folly of asserting any dead core of being in him, and yet are ever smuggling in this supreme folly in asserting a nature, as it were, back of his activities. God is eternal activity, self-originated activity, activity ever reproducing itself; and what, pray, is this but *causa sui?* The philosophers have done good service here in showing that cause and effect need not be separated in time; that in God they are cotemporaneous and coincident. With the well-considered words of Ulrici, on this subject, we will close this discussion. "For God," says he, in his "God and Nature," "being is *not* given, determined in itself. The Divine Being is creative thought, power, and self-activity, productive and distinguishing. This being is not at first mere being (Stoff) and afterward distinguishing self-activity; but this self-activity is itself being or matter, (Stoff,) for in it *consists* the very being of God. Thus *through* his productive and distinguishing self-activity God *makes* himself the material (Stoff) of his self-apprehension, for only in and with this original self-activity does being (Stoff) have and keep its definiteness."—P. 705.

5. Let us now consider Scotus' doctrine of man. He breaks essentially with the scholastic theory of perception. According to the scholastic theory, perception is effected by species or forms, derived from the external object, which take on more and more of a spiritual character, until in the nidus of the soul the idea is born. There is first the sensible species, then abstraction is made by the active intellect, then results the intelligible species, and finally, in the passive intellect arises the idea of the object. That is, the sensible species modified by abstraction becomes idea. Thus perception is effected by means of the fiction of the species. Again, the distinction had come from Aristotle of the active and the passive intellect.

Now, Scotus had caught a glimpse of the truth on this subject, by realizing in some measure the function of *intuition*, which would have led him to see that the object and the knowing soul give all the elements of the process. He had already made the distinction between *intuitive* and *abstractive* knowledge, in saying that our knowledge of God is of the latter kind, and not the former. He thus has a divination that species and phantasmata are unnecessary entities which

Occam's razor soon cut off relentlessly. But here Scotus does not draw the immediate consequence. Again, Scotus, with a little irresolution, it is true, abolishes the distinction between the active and the passive intellect. Here was a fertile thought destructive to the scholastic system, but pushed to its consequences only by his successors. In this connection, again, the doctrine of the Formalities, so significant in Scotus, makes its appearance. The faculties of the soul, not to be distinguished in reality from the mind itself, are to be distinguished "formally and from the nature of the thing." Again, and here was a most important distinction, Scotus insisted upon the activity of the mind in perception. The passivity of the intellect in perception was the current thought before him, and he broke really with this view. In so far as he admitted a species at all, he held that this was not a purely passive product of the intellect. Knowledge, he expressly declared, is brought about by a concurrent activity of the understanding. As the father without the mother, he says, cannot generate, so cannot the understanding generate knowledge without the object. By far the greater significance, according to him, attaches to the intellectual activity. He almost makes the external object a mere occasion of spiritual activity.

The immediate successors of Duns drew the consequences which flow from his positions, and banished species and phantasms from the field of philosophy. Peter Aureolus, the Scotist, who died only thirteen years after his master, declares the species unnecessary for the explanation of knowledge. His neat statement is as follows: "That which we behold (*intuemur*) is not any form seen as it were in a mirror, (*specularis,*) but the thing itself, having phenomenal being, and this is the concept of the mind, or objective knowledge."

Durandus, who lived at the same time, and even belonged to the school of Thomas, reduced *species* to the physical impression of the external object. Besides, he makes a definite distinction between intuitive and abstractive knowledge, and abolishes that between the active and the passive intellect, though cutting off the active. Occam, who, doubtless, attended upon Scotus' lectures, most decidedly throws overboard all species whatever, and abolishes the distinction between the active and the passive intellect. A most important addition

to the doctrine of perception made by Occam, and emerging by a scratch of the nail from Scotus, is this. He asks the question, In what consists the likeness between thought and thing in knowledge? The answer is, Our conceptions stand related to things as mere *signs*. As smoke indicates fire and groaning pain, so without any absolute likeness our perceptions guarantee the external world. He goes deeper yet, and asks after the nature of thought, as subjective fact in the knowing subject. There are three positions, he says, which may be taken here. It may be an *image* of the external object, or a certain *quality* of the soul, or, lastly, the act of thought itself. He decides for the last on the principle of parsimony. Still, further, his doctrine of signs is a most valuable one, and leads to a true theory of perception. There are three kinds of *termini*, as he expresses it, the written sign, the verbal sign, and the conceptual sign. This last is the *natural* sign of the object, and cannot be changed. Thus thought, the intention, is the sign of the thing thought, not an arbitrary but a natural sign. The mind, then, is constructive in perception, and so Scotus' thought has led Occam almost to the phenomenalism of Lotze. Pierre D'Ailly declares God could annihilate all objects outside our minds, and still produce the representations of the same within us, and we should not note the loss of the objective world; a statement which anticipates Berkeley by more than three centuries. All that it is needful to suppose is the constant divine activity and the uniform course of nature.

We pass now to his notion of human freedom. In Scotus' system, freedom, as we have seen, plays the largest rôle. Spontaneity is his shibboleth every-where. Here he stands in diametrical opposition to St. Thomas. The latter is a Necessitarian, the former the most decided and uncompromising advocate of freedom. He asserts the power of alternativity, or contrary choice, saying explicitly, "The will, in so far as it is first actuality, is free to opposite acts. The will is the total cause of its activity." Again he says: "Nothing other than the will is total cause of volition in the will." The object may be the condition *sine qua non*, our knowledge of it may be indispensable, but the necessitation of the understanding, such as it is, can never be carried over to the will. It is only in the sense that we must know the object of desire that it can be called the

partial cause of the will. He stands squarely against the modern statement of the strongest motive as determining the will, or of the higher good as that which must be a compellant motive. It is here that Scotus takes his ground against all Determinists. Edwards tells us, following Locke, that "Freedom is the power that any one has to do as he pleases." True, but what if the choice is a necessitated one and wholly beyond the spontaneity of the individual? It has been often said that the position of Edwards involves the clock-hammer freedom to strike and no more. The arrow flying through the air, says Spinoza, if conscious, would say, "Behold how freely I move." Professor Fisher, in his article on "The Philosophy of Edwards," rehearses the same irrelevant matter as his master Edwards. Liberty, he tells us, relates to matters subsequent to volition, and this is the only proper use of the term freedom as applied to personal agents. The relevancy of dragging in Professor Fisher here is seen in the fact that he quotes St. Thomas to fortify Edwards. Aquinas says, "God, in moving the will, does not compel it, because he gives it its own inclination." Again he says, "to be moved from itself is not repugnant to this that it is moved by another." But this being moved by God, and this acting from a derived inclination, is the very thing which the advocates of freedom deny. Thus Scotus denies any such secret spring in the will, back of consciousness, whereby *fata ducunt volentem.* The statement of Scotus is: "Nothing else than the will is total cause of volition in the will." Spontaneity in the fullest sense, over against the divine action, is the solvent word. The Necessitarian assertion of freedom in the will, certainly as asserted by Edwards, is the boldest example of promise to the ear which is broken to the heart. Dr. A. A. Hodge, in a recent statement on the subject of the will, asserts that "Edwards' infinite series remains a triumphant refutation of the old doctrine of the liberty of indifference." The sole answer to this, forever exploding the infinite regress, may be given in the words of Scotus himself: "If we should ask, why the will wills this, there is no cause to be given, except that the will is will." The will itself can throw the sword of Brennus into the scale and decide from its own autonomic center. This decides the question, then, as to the comparative rank of the intellect and the will. Thomas

declared that intellect has the primacy; Scotus ever assigns it to the will. Thus, while to the first, Theology is a theoretical science, to Scotus it is ever a practical one. The object of theology is not so much to enlarge our knowledge as to accomplish our salvation. We are not united to God perfectly in knowledge, but only through the activity of will in love. It is true the will alone cannot bring salvation, for the divine *charitas* must be infused. However, this is not without our co-operation. True, Christ is the door, but the door must be entered, and this implies synergistic activity on the part of the sinner. The vision of God, of which Thomas talks so much, does not satisfy the ideal of Scotus. *Delectatio* even smacks too much of Quietism. Even the knowledge of God, of which Scripture speaks, includes love.

We have treated Scotus mainly as a philosopher, and not as a theologian. In this latter province, and because of his thorough-going emphasis of freedom, he has, it is evident, somewhat lost his balance. We can only stop to signify a few points in the briefest manner. In asserting freedom of God, he goes to the extreme of arbitrariness. The foundation of moral obligation, according to him, lies so completely in the will of God, that, had he chosen to do so, he might have made wrong to be right. Utter arbitrariness is thus enthroned in the very bosom of God, and spiritual freedom sweeps over into blind nature. Again, while Scotus struggles like a very Hercules with the problem of personality in his doctrine of the incarnation, he shows a vicious emphasis of the notion of freedom in asserting that God could have become a stone as well as man. A valuable thought, on the other hand, is this, that the incarnation was not conditioned by human sin. Once again we see the same thing in his doctrine of the atonement, or the *acceptilatio*, according to which the work of Christ was accepted as the ground of human salvation without reference to its exact adjustment to the relationship between God and man. Thus, as God could have saved the sinner without Christ's offering, and have justified him without the infusion of grace, so fallen man, by his native powers, may or might, apart from what he calls the ordinate power of God, obey the Divine Will.

We close the study of this great man, so marked by keen-

ness of thought and originality full of the seeds of the future, by remarking that philosophy was in his day too deeply wedded to theology for Scotus to emancipate himself wholly from the rubrics of scholasticism. But he set to work a fermentation which began immediately to agitate thinkers. The image which Milton uses in his description of creation may be applied to Duns:

> "Now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts."

He never pawed himself loose from scholasticism. Hence the imperfect solution of the antinomy between faith and knowledge, the theoretical and the practical, intellect and will. Still he worked well at the problem, of which we are now finding the definitive solution—this, namely, the perfect harmony of theology and philosophy, the rational vindication of the Christian Faith.

Art. II.—METHODIST DOCTRINAL STANDARDS.

What are the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church? What is their authority over the teaching and denominational standing of members of the Church? What does the word of God require as touching those who publicly dissent from the doctrinal standards of the Church? are questions of vital importance to its peace and prosperity?

I. What are the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

In ¶ 71 of the "Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church," we read:

> The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely:
>
> § 1. The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

¶ 72 permits the General Conference, by a two thirds majority, and with the concurrent recommendation of three fourths of

the members of the Annual Conferences, present and voting, to alter any of the Six Restrictive Rules, "excepting the First Article."

Judging from these two sections of the "Discipline," the orthodoxical symbols of the Church are unalterable as "the laws of the Medes and Persians." Yet the multitude of contributions to the religious press, and the formal essays entrusted to magazines and reviews, postulate, for the most part, that it is a matter of entire uncertainty what the Methodist doctrinal standards are. Ask one of the writers what the authoritative creed of the Church is, and he replies that he does not know. Another answers that it is contained in the New Testament, and another in the Bible.

That the latter statement is true in the sense that the Bible is the depository whence all the materials for the fabrication of the Methodist doctrinal standards have been drawn, is beyond question; and for that reason all candidates for diaconal ordination are obliged "to unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." * For the same reason, candidates for presbyterial and episcopal ordination are required to profess their persuasion "that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ," and they are "determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to" their "charge, and to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation but that which" they "shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures." † They are also required to pledge themselves to "be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," † and further, in the case of bishops, "both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to do the same." ‡

These requirements denote the high estimate placed by the Church on the maintenance of sound doctrine, and indicate the zeal with which all its ministers ought to labor for its preservation.

But the reply, that the Methodist doctrinal standards are to be found in the Bible is a mere evasion of the question. All are agreed that they ought to be in harmony with the teach-

* "Discipline," p. 344. † *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 334. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

ings of "God's word written," and that the creeds, confessions, and symbols of all branches of the visible Church are binding upon the conscience only to that extent in which they accord with them. "We believe," wrote Wesley in his "Character of a Methodist," "the written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule, both of Christian faith and practice. . . . We believe Christ to be the eternal, supreme God. . . . But as to all opinions which do not strike *at the root of Christianity* we think and let think."

But what does Methodism in our Church "think" of the doctrinal contents of the Holy Scriptures? "The Bible is of God; the confession is man's answer to God's word. The Bible is the *norma normans;* the confession the *norma normata.* The Bible is the rule of faith, (*regula fidei;*) the confession, the rule of doctrine, (*regula doctrinæ.*)" * What is the Methodistic confession? What are the symbols regulating the public teaching of ministerial officials? Protestant Episcopalians, Lutherans, Calvinists, have "summaries of the doctrine of the Bible, aids to its sound understanding, bonds of union among their professors, public standards and guards against false doctrine and practice;" and in these their interpretations of biblical teaching on the great subjects of theology, Christology, anthropology, the Church and the sacraments, soteriology, and eschatology, are more or less precisely defined. Has Methodism similar instruments, and if so, where and what are they?

Dr. Buckley says that "from the beginning till the present day Methodism has had, not indeed a confession, or a systematic creed, (for the absence of which we thank God and our fathers,) but a general backbone of theology, upon which its sermons, treatises, commentaries, catechisms, hymns, exhortations, and ritual, rest. Every person who becomes a minister among us knows what that spinal column is, and also that the Church claims the right to dispense with the services of those who attempt to break it." †

All of which is historically true; but where shall we find this "general backbone?"

Dr. Curry maintains "that there are no definite and ascer-

* Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i., p. 7.

† "Christian Advocate," October 20, 1881.

tained set of documents which are to be accepted as embodying the legally protected doctrines of Methodism;" and that the "existing and established standards" recognized by the law of the Church "cannot be identified with"—he does not say *in*—"any given books or documents, and, therefore, it is left to those to whom the detection and punishment of heresy may be committed to find out and decide what doctrines are, in any case, contrary to the 'standards.'" *

"If it shall be asked what are those standards . . . and where may they be found?" he says that "the only possible answers are that they are the generally accepted doctrines of Methodism, established at its beginning, and perpetuated by the common consent of all concerned; and they are to be found in the memories and convictions of those upon whom the safe keeping of the body is devolved." † If this be an accurate statement, then the Methodist Episcopal Church has only an oral theology, and that as diverse as the manifold receptacles to which its keeping is confided. A system more flexible, fluctuating, and intractable of reduction to method could not be devised. But even then, the existence of documentary sources of the tenets held in memory and conviction is necessarily implied. Civilized theological associations have never been destitute of such primitive literature. Theological students need to know where and what it is, and if it take the form of creed, confession, symbol, or serial articles. In these latter forms the Methodist doctrinal standards can easily be studied; and even if they should be embodied in commentaries or sermons, it will be comparatively light labor to define and formulate them. But Dr. Curry denies the existence of any such authoritative fountains. "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . is without any definite documentary system of belief by law established." † And yet he affirms that Methodist theology "recognizes certain great truths, which lie 'at the root of Christianity,' which must be held sacred." He further asserts that the Church, "according to definite rules of judicature" has power to determine what are these essential Christian doctrines, "and also to remove from the body all who reject them."

He next, as one of those in whose "memories and convictions" the essential doctrines of Methodism are preserved,

* "Independent," November 3, 1881. † *Ibid.*, December 1, 1881.

enumerates them in the following order: "the nature of sin, and of its results and entailments;" "God's free grace in Christ offering salvation . . . to all who, in penitence and faith, would call on God, through Christ, for pardon and salvation;" "the character and work of Christ, his person and sacrifice; "justification by faith;" "the necessity of 'the new birth;'" the certainty that rejecters of the proffered grace "cannot see the kingdom of God;" and "the assurance of the completeness of the work of the soul's practical redemption." "These several points, (themselves an indivisible unity, with their necessary and natural implications,) are the essential doctrines of Methodism—these and no others—which all of its ministers are bound in good faith to cherish and defend; but, beyond these, and if nothing repugnant to them is held or taught, it allows to all the utmost freedom of thinking and speaking." "The exposition and defense of these doctrines in Wesley's Sermons, and in his didactic and controversial writings, have been generally accepted as at once correct in substance and felicitous in manner; and, therefore, they are accepted as, in a secondary sense, "standards of doctrine;" although mingled with these are extraneous matters which nobody is required to believe, and which not a few decidedly and openly reject. For more than a hundred years the Methodist pulpit and press, its public prayers and exhortations, its "experiences," and its hymns have embodied its theology in living forms." *

These emissions from "memory and conviction," shed some light on the real answer to the question, "What are the Methodist doctrinal standards?" In a secondary sense, at least, we learn that they are to be found in Wesley's writings, in the issues of the Methodist press, and in Methodist hymns—all of which may be thoroughly studied at leisure.

Wise men change their opinions, and the learned critic seems to have changed his since April, 1879, at which epoch he held that the Methodist Episcopal Church had a "definite documentary system of belief, by law established," and "that whatever is contained in the 'Articles of Religon,' or the Ritual, (as it was in 1808,) is part of the creed of Methodism, which it is presumed that the whole Church agrees to as agreeable to the Word of God, and which every minister engages to teach, as of di-

* "Independent," December 1, 1881.

vine authority." But he did not then believe, nor does he now, that the "definite documentary system of belief, by law established," comprised in the Articles and Ritual of 1808, "contain all of the commonly accepted and well-ascertained doctrines of the Gospel, as held and taught by the Methodist Episcopal Church; and therefore that the proper guardians of the Church's orthodoxy must care for and protect other articles of faith than those formally legalized by the organic documents of the body." This earlier and more thoroughly considered deliverance in the editorial department of the "National Repository" of April, 1879, p. 363, is historically justifiable.

"Beyond the articles and the ritual, we certainly have no documents of any kind that can be referred to as decisively authoritative in matters of theological beliefs." The Methodist Episcopal Church has, from the beginning, held and taught more than is contained in any of its formally recognized standards." *

If we ask whether this surplus may not be found in John Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, and whether those are not included among the doctrinal standards of Methodism, Dr. Curry makes answer that "other documents, as the 'Doctrinal Tracts,' Wesley's Sermons, and his Notes on the New Testament, once had a kind of official recognition as standards of doctrine; but they were never legally accepted as such, nor was there at any time general acceptance of some things taught in them, and they have ceased entirely to be so recognized." †

Wesley's writings are no longer standards of doctrine to American Methodists—"were never legally accepted as such," not even as to the doctrines which are distinctive of that form of evangelical Arminianism of which, under God, he was the founder! How much of historical credibility there is in this statement, we will shortly endeavour to point out. Meanwhile, if "one asks for the standards of Methodist doctrines, what must be the answer?" Dr. Curry answers his own query in the words: "First, we find twenty-five 'Articles of Religion.'" So far all is clear. All parties are agreed that among the Methodist doctrinal standards are:—

I. *The Articles of Religion.* These are first indicated as

* "National Repository," April, 1879, p. 360. † *Ibid.*

under the protection of constitutional law in the first Restrictive Rule. But the Articles are entirely silent on "such important subjects as the Christian sabbath, the Scripture doctrine of marriage, and the whole subject of eschatology, beyond the naked fact that there is to be a future life, judgment, and everlasting life after death." True—and they are also silent on the subject of the "Witness of the Spirit," and on "Christian Perfection," on both of which Methodist theology lays special emphasis. For these and other reasons we concur with the opinion that "it seems most likely that these articles were never intended to serve as a complete system of doctrine, and it is very certain that the accepted doctrines of Methodism have always been wider than the ground covered by them." *

So far as we can ascertain from the histories and biographies of Methodism, no corporate attempt has ever been made to formulate "a complete system of doctrine." Methodist preachers have always been too busy in disseminating what they hold to be the essential doctrines of Christianity to undertake an achievement of that kind. Scholarly divines, belonging to national Churches, may find congenial employment in fabricating complete doctrinal standards. Methodists have always found such a task to be supererogatory. They had expositions of all the essential doctrines of God's word in the writings of Wesley that satisfied their most pressing spiritual needs while only "United Societies," in other Churches; and when they organized themselves into an independent and distinct Church of Jesus Christ they adopted an Episcopal form of government, and with it an abridgment of the Articles of the Anglican Episcopal Church, and thus became the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Our Articles of Religion" were superadded to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine" at the Christmas Conference of 1784.

But some writers argue, and others impliedly admit, that the Articles constitute our sole denominational standards.

The Rev. J. Pullman, in an elaborate article on "Methodism and Heresy," insists that John Wesley and the General Conference of 1784 intended "the Articles of Religion to be the only authoritative creed of the Church under which a minister should be tried," and "that the law of the Methodist

* "National Repository," April, 1879, p. 359.

Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion"! According to this theory, a Methodist preacher may deny the doctrines of the direct and indirect testimony of the Holy Spirit to the believer's adoption into the family of God, and also the doctrine of entire sanctification, and yet not be guilty of heresy. Both of the writer's postulates are discordant with the facts of history, and with the moral convictions and judicial procedures of the Church.

Henry and Harris, on page 69 of their admirable work on "Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church," say:

> Again, ¶ 207 of the Discipline provides that when a minister or preacher holds and disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and will not solemnly promise to abstain from disseminating such erroneous doctrines, in public and private, [he] shall be dealt with preliminarily as when guilty of gross immorality. Yet, notwithstanding his promise not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, he is liable to be dealt with canonically before the Annual Conference.

In the revised edition of the same work, (1881,) p. 68, after the words, "Articles of Religion," follows this clause: "or established standards of doctrine," thus taking the authors out of the class of theorists who identify our established standards of doctrine with the Articles of Religion, and who repudiate all others.

Dr. Miller, one of the clerical counsel of Dr. H. W. Thomas, whose self-sought expulsion from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church has occasioned much discussion by the secular as well as by the religious press, rejects all authoritative standards except the Articles. In his demurrer to the validity of the charges against his client, he urged that there are no authorized standards in the Church in relation to the endless punishment of the wicked; that what are the established standards of doctrine, other than the Articles of Religion, has never been defined by any General Conference; and that there is no established standard of doctrine other than the Articles of Religion, or "such doctrine as the one clearly stated in the Book of Discipline, and protected by the first restrictive rule." *

* "Independent."

The fact that the General Conference has never formally declared that the doctrinal standards of the European Methodists are also the doctrinal standards of the American Methodists does not prove that they are not. The fact that they are has not been disputed until lately. Had the attempt to deny it been foreseen it might have been guarded against by formal enactment; but as it was not, the consecutive General Conferences rested on the self-evident truth.

Dr. D. A. Whedon also states that the General Conference of 1784 "received Wesley's abridgment of the Articles of the Church of England, which continue to be their standard of doctrine to the present day." * He does not, however, maintain that this abridgment is the only standard of orthodox teaching, but adds the following testimony:—

"The theology of the Church is thoroughly Arminian, as it has been from the beginning. In this it agrees with universal Wesleyan Methodism. . . . Wesley's doctrinal Sermons, Notes on the New Testament, and other writings, have been its standards of Arminian orthodoxy; while the rigid examination to which all candidates for the ministry are subjected is its chief security that only what is deemed correct and sound in doctrine shall be preached in its pulpits." †

The Methodist doctrinal standards include the first four volumes of Wesley's Sermons, his Notes on the New Testament, and also the "Large Minutes." This proposition will not be challenged so far as the Wesleyan Methodist Churches in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies are regarded. In Great Britain and Ireland the Trust or "Model Deed," of all the churches, which is slightly modified from time to time as social changes may render necessary, contains the following clause:—

Nevertheless, upon special trust and confidence, and to the intent that they and the survivors of them, and the Trustees for the time being, do and shall permit from time to time, and at all times for ever, such persons as shall be appointed at the yearly Conference of the people called Methodists, held in London, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, or elsewhere, specified by name in a deed enrolled in Chancery, under the hand and seal of the Rev. John Wesley, and bearing date 28th of February, 1784, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises, in order that they may therein preach and expound God's holy word, and perform all

* "McClintock & Strong's Cyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 157. † *Ibid.*, p. 171.

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other acts of religious worship; provided, that the persons so appointed preach no other doctrines than are contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament, and his four volumes of Sermons, by him published.*

By this "deed" Wesley's Notes and Sermons are made the legal as well as the ecclesiastical standards of the doctrines expounded in the Church edifices settled on Trustees for the use of the Wesleyan Methodists. The "Large Minutes" themselves, as well as the Sermons and Notes of Mr. Wesley referred to therein, may fairly be classed with the doctrinal standards of Wesleyan Methodism.

Prior to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, the doctrinal standards of American were avowedly the same as those of European Methodism.

At the first Conference, held in Philadelphia, June, 1773, the following queries were proposed to every preacher, and answered affirmatively:—

Quest. 2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists as contained in the Minutes, [which specify Wesley's Notes and Sermons as the standards of doctrine,] to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in the connection with Mr. Wesley in America?

"*Ans.* Yes.

"*Quest.* 3. If so, does it not follow, that if any preachers deviate from the Minutes, we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct?

"*Ans.* Yes." †

Again, in the Minutes of 1781 the first question recorded is:

What preachers are now determined, after mature consideration, close observation, and earnest prayer, to preach the old Methodist doctrine, and strictly enforce the Discipline, as contained in the Notes, Sermons and Minutes published by Mr. Wesley, so far as they respect both preachers and people according to the knowledge we have of them, and the ability God shall give; and firmly resolve to discountenance a separation among either preachers or people?

Ans.‡ [Here follow the names of thirty-nine, (probably all who were present save one,§) out of fifty four preachers.]

* "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., and the Preachers in Connection with him. Containing the form of Discipline established among the Preachers and People in the Methodist Societies." P. 65. These minutes are commonly known as the "Large Minutes."

† Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 10. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

§ Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 91.

In this practical unanimity the preachers were further strengthened by a letter from Mr. Wesley, dated at Bristol, October 3, 1783, and designed to guard the American preachers against foreign and domestic intruders who might attempt the "bringing in" of "new doctrines, particularly Calvinian." "Let all of you," he exhorted, "be determined to abide by the Methodist doctrine and Discipline, published in the four volumes of Sermons, and the Notes upon the New Testament, together with the "Large Minutes" of Conference.*

With this advice the May Conference, held at Baltimore in 1784, hastened to comply.

Quest. 21 asks, How shall we conduct ourselves toward European preachers?

Ans. If they are recommended by Mr. Wesley, will be subject to the American Conference, preach the doctrine taught in the four volumes of Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, keep the circuits they are appointed to, following the directions of the London and American Minutes, and be subject to Francis Asbury as general assistant, whilst he stands approved by Mr. Wesley and the Conference, we will receive them.†

The establishment of national independence had not, at that time, impaired the doctrinal and ecclesiastical unity of Methodism. But in the fall of the same year Mr. Wesley, pursuant to the indications of Providence and the desires of the American Societies, took measures to organize the latter into a distinct and independent Church. Assisted by presbyters of the Anglican Church he ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as *elders* among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. He also ordained Dr. Coke as superintendent "over our brethren in North America," and signified his wish that Francis Asbury should be ordained as deacon, elder, and superintendent, and that he should be associated with Thomas Coke in the general oversight of the prospective Church. He further prepared an expurgated and abridged edition of the Anglican Liturgy, Ritual, and Articles of Religion, and submitted it to the American Methodists for adoption.

Hitherto what are called the "Large Minutes" of Wesley had been recognized as the authoritative Discipline of the American

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 148.

† Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 22.

societies, with the special enactments of the American Conference superadded. The "Large Minutes" were a compilation made by Wesley from the Annual Minutes of the British Conference. In the preliminary deliberations at Perry Hall they were revised and adapted to the new form of the American Church, and being adopted by the Christmas Conference, were incorporated with the "Sunday service" and hymns, and published in 1785 as the Discipline of American Methodism. In this volume, therefore, we find the enactments of the Christmas Conference.*

But Wesley's Sermons and Notes "were never legally accepted" as standards of doctrine, Dr. Curry insists. What there was that was illegal in the acceptance of them by the Conferences of 1773, 1781, and 1784 he fails to point out. The legality of these Conferences and of their actions has not hitherto been impeached. The words of Asbury about the Conference of 1792, which he styles "the first regular General Conference," are construed by Dr. Sherman to mean that "the Conference of 1784 was irregular, partaking of the nature of a convention rather than of an established body. It was convened for the purpose of organizing the Church, and its recurrence not anticipated." † Irregular and unconventional as those assemblages might be, their decisions had all the binding force of law, and have received the sanctions of the great Head of the Church. They were not composed of constitutional lawyers, but of godly, sincere Methodist preachers, who knew what they intended and what they were doing, although comparatively unlearned in the science of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Their actions have been acknowledged as legal by the tacit consent and by the uniform procedure of their successors. Their enactments in relation to the essentials of Methodist doctrine and discipline have neither been repealed nor virtually annulled by antagonistic legislation. All laws imposed by rightful authority are valid until repealed by rightful authority; and *as the law repeatedly accepting certain specified writings of Wesley as the doctrinal standards of American Methodism has never been repealed, it follows that they must be such at the present day.*

It was in all probability with this view, as well as from the manifest impropriety of transferring Wesley's English "Model Deed" from the "Large Minutes" to the American Discipline

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, pp. 196, 197.
† "History of the Discipline," p. 27.

that it, though containing the clause requiring all Methodist preaching to be in concord with the doctrine of his Notes and Sermons, was left out by the revisers at Perry Hall.

That the primary doctrinal standards of Methodism were wholly unchanged when the American societies formed themselves into an Episcopal Church is obvious in the light of the minutes of the Christmas Conference of 1784. Quest. 2 reads:

> What can be done in order to the future union of the Methodists?
>
> ¶ *Ans.* During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready, in matters belonging to Church government, to obey his commands. And we do engage, after his death, to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our union with the Methodists in Europe.*

Could the pledge, unwise as it was in relation to Church administration, have been voluntarily made by those heroic and truthful men if they had not intended to embrace doctrinal matters within its scope? Could their engagement "to preserve and promote union with the Methodists in Europe" be construed in any other sense than that of continuous adherence to "our present existing and established standards of doctrine?"

The subsequent lives of the itinerant fathers demonstrated their own understanding of this solemn and artless pledge. They persisted in preaching the distinctive Wesleyan doctrines of prevenient grace, the salvability of all men, the direct witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian perfection; none of which are incorporated with the articles, although always enumerated among the most precious possessions of Methodism, and as such very carefully discussed in the "Large Minutes," Notes, and Sermons.

Again, the venerable Wesley himself, who never ceased to display the keenest interest in the Church indirectly organized by himself to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands, and who was not a little grieved when his name was left off its minutes for prudential reasons, never suspected—what in fact did not exist—that his expositions of Christian doctrine had ceased to be the primary doctrinal standards of American Methodism.

* Emory's "History of the Discipline," p. 27.

In a letter to the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, written only twenty-nine days before his death, after mentioning his growing infirmities, he says:

> Probably I should not be able to do so much, did not many of you assist me by your prayers. See that you never give place to one thought of separating from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,
>
> "Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
> To sever us in vain."
>
> This proves that he did not consider us [in any thing essential to Methodist solidarity] as separated from himself or from our European brethren.
>
> The same sentiment has been since officially avowed both by the British and American Conferences. . . . Of this state of unity and affection every friend of this great work will cordially say, May it be perpetual.*

The notes to the Discipline appended to the edition of 1796, and which received the implied sanction of the General Conference of 1800, contain the following statement, which certainly implies the doctrinal unity of universal Methodism: "We are but one body of people, one grand society, whether in Europe or America; united in the closest spiritual bonds, and in external bonds as far as the circumstances of things will admit." †

The conclusion reached by this review of our Church history is, that the primary doctrinal standards of the American Methodists were not revoked, altered, or changed in any particular when they passed from the status of societies in a Church to that of distinct and independent churchhood.

When the American Methodists were organized into a separate and distinct Church, they did not cease to be what they had previously been, namely, Methodists; but they did become what hitherto they had not been, namely, the Methodist *Episcopal* Church. As persistent Methodists, they retained the old doctrinal standards; and, as newborn ecclesiastical Episcopalians, added to them twenty-four other standards abridged by Wesley from the standards of the Anglican Church, and purified from every vestige of Popery and Calvinism; and

* "Emory's "Defense of our Fathers," p. 132.
† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 369.

also a twenty-fifth standard, fabricated by themselves, and suited to the national relations of the new Church. *

Thenceforth the doctrinal symbols of the Methodist Episcopal Church have consisted of the old beloved standards common to Methodism *plus* the articles supplied by Wesley and the Church-organizing Conference.

Had the American Methodists remained in a mere societary relation to the Anglican Church, or assumed such relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church, its claimant successor in this country, it is in no wise probable that the articles would ever have been formally adopted into the number of our "established standards of doctrine." Their verbal primacy in the legal enumeration of the first Restrictive Rule is due to the suffrages of the General Conference, that is to say, of the Church which placed them there.

In the "Discipline," the Americanized form of the "Large Minutes," we find the following among other references to the old Methodist doctrines:

¶ Are you going on to perfection? do you expect to be made perfect in this life? are you groaning after it? "Let us strongly and closely insist upon inward and outward holiness in all its branches."

Let all the preachers carefully read over Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Fletcher's tracts.

We have received as a maxim, that a man is to do nothing in order to justification. Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God should cease from evil and learn to do well. So God himself teacheth by the prophet Isaiah.

We are every moment pleasing or displeasing to God according to our works; according to the whole of our present inward tempers and outward behavior.

If preachers and exhorters cannot attend, let some person of ability be appointed in every society to sing, pray, and read one of Mr. Wesley's sermons.

* "At the organization of the Church, in 1784, it was the first religious body in the country to insert in its constitutional law (in its Articles of Religion) a recognition of the new government, enforcing patriotism on its communicants." In 1800 the General Conference, by a motion of Ezekiel Cooper, "struck out all allusion to the 'Act of Confederation,' inserting in its stead 'the Constitution of the United States,' etc., and declared that 'the said States are a *sovereign* and independent *nation*.' Methodism thus deliberately, and in its constitutional law, recognized that the 'Constitution' superseded the 'Act of Confederation,' and that the Republic was no longer a confederacy but a *nation*, and, as such, supreme and sovereign over all its States.'" Stevens' "History of M. E. Church," vol. iv, pp. 180, 181.

Be active in dispersing the books among the people.

From four to five in the morning, and from five to six in the evening, meditate, pray, and read the Scriptures with Mr. Wesley's Notes, and the closely practical parts of what he has published.

Let us strongly and explicitly exhort all believers to go on to perfection.

Whoever will advance the gradual change in believers should strongly insist on the instantaneous. *

There is no evidence to prove the theory that "our fathers" ever imagined that the Articles of Religion, superadded at Mr. Wesley's suggestion to the recognized standards, either superseded or in any way took precedence of them. If such a thought every entered their minds, they were singularly careful not to voice it in word or written document.

The assertion of the Rev. J. Pullman, that Wesley designedly procured the substitution of the Articles of Religion in place of his own Notes, Sermons, and the "Large Minutes" as the authoritative doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, unintentionally charges that great divine, "whose genius for government was equal to that of Richelieu," with the commission of a great absurdity. "It is true," writes Mr. Pullman, "that prior to the organization of the Church in 1784, 'The Notes, Sermons, and Minutes of Mr. Wesley' were, by special enactment, (Annual Minutes of 1781, and April, 1784,) declared the standard of doctrine; but it is equally true that at the Christmas Conference, in 1784, when the Church assumed an organic form, the Articles of Religion were adopted, at the request of Mr. Wesley, as the authoritative doctrinal standard of the Church, and ever since they have had a conspicuous and sacred place in the Book of Discipline; and it is also true that from the time of their adoption there has been no mention of Mr. Wesley's Notes and Sermons;"—from which he infers that the Methodist doctrinal standards, universally binding up to that epoch, ceased thenceforth to possess any constitutional force. In other words, Mr. Pullman maintains that John Wesley deliberately substituted the purified and abbreviated doctrinal symbols of the Anglican Church for the "existing and established standards of doctrine" hitherto obligatory on Methodist preachers, exhorters, and stewards; and that the pious

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i., pp. 182–211.

and intelligent members of that epochal Conference knowingly accepted the substitution.

This assertion is all the more startling in presence of the fact so forcibly stated by Dr. Stevens:

> But what is most noteworthy in the negative character of the American Articles, is the fact that the opinions which are deemed most distinctive of Wesleyan theology have therein no expression, if indeed any intimation. Wesley eliminates the supposed Anglican Calvinism, but he does not introduce his own Arminianism; unless the thirty-first Anglican Article on the "Oblation of Christ" be admitted to be Arminian in spite of the seventeenth article on "Predestination." In like manner we have no statement of his doctrines of the "Witness of the Spirit," and "Christian Perfection." And yet no doctrines more thoroughly permeate the preaching, or more entirely characterize the moral life, of Methodism than his opinions of the universal salvability of man, assurance, and sanctification.*

Yet, notwithstanding these omissions, the thinkers of Mr. Pullman's school contend that Mr. Wesley intended to establish a *Methodist* Episcopal Church, with all, or nearly all, that is distinctive of evangelically Arminian Methodism left out of its doctrinal Constitution. We venture to doubt whether this was the opinion of Bishop Simpson, when he told Dean Stanley, at the reception given to that distinguished churchman in St. Paul's Church, New York, that the Methodist Episcopal Church "reflects" John Wesley's "mind better than any other on earth."

The rapid extension and growth of the Church, the difficulty of assembling all the preachers in General Conference, and the need of securing the assent of all to requisite legislation, induced the Conference of 1789 to order the creation of the ephemeral "Council," which was invested with authority "to preserve the essentials of the Methodist doctrines and discipline, pure and uncorrupted." † In 1792 the O'Kelly secession, and its concomitant evils, led to the Conferential passage of the following rule:

> If a member of our Church shall be clearly convicted of endeavoring to sow dissensions in any of our Societies, by inveighing against either our doctrine or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reproved by the senior preacher of his cir-

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, pp. 208, 209.

† Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 303.

cuit; and if he afterward persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be expelled from the society.*

This enactment is revelatory of the jealous care with which the fathers guarded the doctrines of the Church, and the judicious promptitude with which they dealt with incorrigible heretics.

Not until the session of the General Conference at Baltimore, in 1808, were the doctrinal standards of the Church placed under the protection of constitutional law. Up to that time the General Conference, in which the several Annual Conferences were of necessity unequally represented, "possessed unlimited powers over our entire economy," and "could alter, abolish, or add to any article of religion or any rule of discipline." "This depository of power was considered too great for the safety of the Church and the security of its government and doctrine," † and the expediency "of limiting the powers of the General Conference, so as to secure forever the essential doctrines of Christianity from all encroachments," was generally and deeply felt.

By the General Conference of 1808, the delegative principle was introduced into its future composition, and the Constitution of the Church was adopted. This Constitution is contained in the Six Restrictive Rules, which state what the General Conference may not do, leaving it free to adopt any other measures not therein prohibited. But to these restrictions was appended the proviso, "that upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences, then a majority of two thirds of the General Conference succeeding, shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions." ‡

In their form, at this time, they leave open to change the fundamental interests of the Church, even its theology and terms of membership, without representation of the laity; but in 1832, the proviso giving this power was modified, making the Articles of Religion [and, if our views be correct, "our present existing and established standards of doctrine"] unalterable, and requiring a vote of three fourths of the members of the Annual, and two thirds of the General Conferences, to effect any of the specified changes.§

* Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 351.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 177, 178.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 223.

§ Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. iv, pp. 441, 442.

Of these unalterable standards of doctrine, Methodism has just reason to be proud. Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament, with a New Version of the Text,"—"remarkable as having anticipated many of the improved readings of later critics,"*—a work unrivaled among Biblical commentaries for its terseness, condensation, and pertinency,† is still a "recognized standard of theology" throughout the Methodistic world. For "conciseness, spirituality, acuteness, and soundness of opinion," it has won glowing commendations from the best judges.

His Sermons, so "remarkable for the terseness and purity of their style, in which not a word is wasted; the transparency and compactness of their thoughts; and a logical force which is not subtle, but the fruit of a 'keen, clear insight,'" merit equal praise. "No thinker in the modern Church has excelled Wesley in the direct logic, the precision, the transparent clearness, and popular suitableness with which he presented the experimental truths of Christianity. Faith, justification, regeneration, sanctification, the witness of the Spirit, these were his themes, and never were they better defined and discriminated by an English theologian.‡ Although Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament are, in the opinion of Dr. Schaff, (a great *Presbyterian* authority,) "legally binding only on the British Wesleyans, . . . they are in fact as highly esteemed and as much used by American Methodists, and constitute the life of the denomination." "These sermons are fifty-eight in number, and cover the common faith and duties of Christians, but contain, at the same time, the doctrines which constitute the distinctive creed of Methodism." "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i, p. 890.

Among the Methodist doctrinal standards of secondary character, not indicated (or but secondarily) in any section of the Discipline, and between which and the legalized standards there must be *consensus* to give them doctrinal weight, are the commentaries of Benson, Clarke, Whedon, and other expositors, and the "Doctrinal Tracts," with other familiar treatises. Among those indicated by the Discipline are the works included by the Bishops, under authority from the General Conference, in the course of study prescribed for traveling and local preach-

* Stevens' "History of Methodism," vol. ii. p. 504.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 372. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 147.

ers. For example, Pope's "Compendium of Christian Theology," Wesley's "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Foster's "Christian Purity," Harman's "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures," Fletcher's "Checks to Antinomianism," Whedon's treatise on "The Will," Watson's "Theological Institutes," Butler's "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion," Wakefield's "Christian Theology," Merrill's treatise on "Christian Baptism," and others whose titles "are to be found in the memories and convictions of those upon whom the safekeeping of the body is devolved." *

The agreement of opinion with John Wesley, on all doctrines distinctive of Methodism, and not presented in the Articles of Religion, constitutes a secondary standard of appeal in doctrinal controversies that possesses weighty authority. "Any doctrine clearly within the *consensus* of the Church is protected by the common law of the Church without special enactment." † From this proposition we utter no dissent, but argue that all the doctrines of Methodism, if our *resumé* of its theological history be correct, are under the protection, not only of the "common," but also of the statute law of the Church.

Wesley's opinions of the immortality of brutes, baptismal regeneration, and the materiality of the Gehenna fire, were never numbered by him, or any other Methodist writer of credit, among the essential and characteristic doctrines of Methodism. "Our main doctrines, which include all the rest," wrote Wesley, "are repentance, faith, and holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next, the door; the third, religion itself." ‡

Methodists may accept or reject the great divine's notions of brute immortality, or of the materiality of the Gehenna fire, without any liability to impeachment for heterodoxy. The first are mainly embodied in his sermon on "The General Deliverance," which is numbered sixty-five in the American edition of his works, and which was never included—so far as we understand—in the first fifty-three, or fifty-eight, (authors differ as to the number,) of his Sermons, which were legally made part of the standards of Wesleyan orthodoxy.

* Dr. Curry in the "Independent." Dec. 1, 1881.

† Dr. Curry in the "National Repository," Dec., 1878.

‡ "Principles of a Methodist further Explained," Works, vol. v, p. 333.

The doctrine of baptismal regeneration, "that vanguard of Popery," as Mr. Pullman rigorously styles it, was never held in its naked unscripturalness by John Wesley; not even in the very zenith of his High-Churchliness. That his treatise on baptism, written in 1756, contains expressions at variance with his later opinions cannot be denied. But even in that treatise he supplies a "guarded corrective" to its misleading utterances in the words: "Baptism doth now save us, if we live answerable thereto; if we repent, believe, and obey the Gospel: supposing this, as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter." *

When John Wesley prepared his abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles for submission to the American Methodists, his powerful mind had shaken off that last vestige of Romanism. The twenty-fifth of the Anglican Articles reads: "Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us," etc. Wesley omitted from the definition the words "sure witnesses and effectual." See Article XVI.

More significant is his emendation of the twenty-seventh article, "Of Baptism" given in the seventh, [seventeenth,] American article. The former declares baptism to be "a sign of regeneration, or the new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; and faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." All this phrase after "the new birth" is omitted in the American articles, though the concluding part of the original article is retained with amendments. The omission is the more remarkable as the original article presents little or nothing that is offensive to the general faith of Protestant Christendom. Evidently the reason for this cautious change was his apprehension that it might be supposed to favor, however indirectly, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.†

Wesley was not infallible. The keenest, largest, strongest minds are defective at some point; as the biographies of Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and other great leaders amply attest.

* Wesley's "Works," vol. vi, p. 15.

† Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 208.

Wesley was not an exception to the general rule; but he did emancipate himself from bondage to error on this point as he subsequently did in matters of Church polity. The Articles of Religion are the carefully guarded expressions of Wesley's belief on the subjects to which they refer; and, judging by them, he must logically be excluded from the number of believers in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

The distinctive doctrines of Methodism not comprised in the Articles, but to be found in the *consensus* of acknowledged theological authorities are:

1. Prevenient Grace.—"The freedom of will, as a gift of prevenient grace, which is given to every man as a check and antidote to original sin." *

"No man living," says Wesley, "is without some preventing grace, and every degree of grace is a degree of life. There is a measure of free will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which enlightens every man that cometh into the world." "That by the offense of one judgment came upon all men (all born into the world) unto condemnation, is an undoubted truth, and affects every infant as well as every adult person. But it is equally true that by the righteousness of One, the free gift came upon all men, (all born into the world—infants and adults) unto justification."—D. D. Whedon, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1862, p. 258. "Under the redemptive system, the man is born into the world, from Adam, a depraved being. It is as a depraved being that he becomes an Ego. But instantly after, in the order of nature, he is met by the provisions of the atonement."

"Every human being," says Warren, "has a measure of grace (unless he has cast it away,) and those who faithfully use this intrusted gift will be accepted of God in the day of judgment, whether Jew or Greek, Christian or heathen." †

With these representations of doctrinal belief, Clarke, Watson, Bunting, Fisk, and all acknowledged Methodist theological authorities concur; nor is there any doctrine which "so irresistibly and universally appeals for its confirmation to the common conscience and judgment of mankind."

"Original sin and original grace met in the mystery of mercy at the very gate of Paradise." ‡

2. The Witness of the Spirit. This is another characteristic doctrine of Methodism.

* Schaff's "History of Creeds," pp. 897. † *Ibid.*, p. 897, 898.
‡ Pope's "Comp. of Christian Theology," vol. ii, p. 61. See also p. 359 *et seq.*

With Wesley's definition of the doctrine all his Methodistic contemporaries and successors substantially agree. "By the testimony of the Spirit," he writes, "I mean, an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God: that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God." "The immediate result of this testimony is 'the fruit of the Spirit;' namely, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness; and without these the testimony itself cannot continue." *

This testimony of our spirit, as St. Paul calls it, or "indirect testimony of the Holy Spirit, by and through our own spirit, is considered confirmatory of the first testimony."

The Spirit's evidence, based on the Word and Sacrament, is guarded by the ethical and moral testimony of the life. Wherever the assurance of the Spirit is mentioned there is to be found hard by the appeal to the resulting and never-absent evidences of devotion, obedience, and charity.† Assurance is the fruit, not the essence, of faith. . . . Perfect faith must be assured of its object. . . . The internal assurance of faith is a privilege that all may claim and expect; seasons of darkness and depression and uncertainty are only the trial of that faith of assurance.

3. Christian Perfection is another doctrine eminently characteristic of Methodism; its "last and crowning doctrine." ‡

In the minutes of 1744 we find it defined by the process of question and answer:

Quest. What is it to be sanctified?

Ans. To be renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

Quest. What is implied in being a perfect Christian?

Ans. The loving God with all our heart, and mind, and soul; Dent. vi, 5.

Quest. Does this imply that all inward sin is taken away?

Ans. Undoubtedly; or how can we be said to be "saved from all our uncleannesses?" Ezek. xxxvi, 29.

The promises, commands, prayers, and illustrations contained in the Holy Scriptures abundantly warrant the Methodistic reply to the inquiry, "What is Christian Perfection?"

* "Works," vol. i, sermon xi.

† Pope's "Compendium of Theology," vol. iii. p. 121.

‡ Schaff's "History of Creeds," p. 900.

"*Ans.* The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions are governed by pure love."

"Do you affirm that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake?" it was asked, in substance, if not in words. "I continually affirm quite the contrary, and have always done so," was Wesley's rejoinder. "The humble, gentle, patient love of God and our neighbor, ruling our tempers, words, and actions," "is the whole and sole perfection"* taught by him from the pulpit and the press.

He cherished this "last and crowning doctrine" as "the peculiar doctrine committed to our trust," and advised that "all our preachers should make it a point of preaching perfection to believers, constantly, strongly, explicitly." Asbury, like the great majority of Methodist preachers, felt "divinely impressed with a charge to preach it in every sermon."

The Methodist *consensus* on this doctrine is apparent in all our theological standards and highly prized biographies. Wesley, as many of his preachers have since done, held one opinion of the different constituents of a human being at one time, and a contrary opinion at a later period, but his testimony to Christian perfection was uniformly the same. Methodist orthodoxy is indifferent to the trichotomy or dichotomy of man; "it allows a liberal margin for further theological development," but is zealous and uncompromising in its insistence on the privilege and duty of all believers in Christ to enter into and retain the state of entire sanctification.

The doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments is not a distinctively Methodist tenet, but the agreement of Methodist writers and preachers in the exposition and defense of this revealed truth is so positive and unvarying as to leave no room for doubt as to the faith of the Church in its Scripturalness and obligation.

Neither can the possibility of falling from grace, and perishing forever, be distinguished as a distinctively Methodist doctrine. It does receive deserved prominence in the pulpit and the press, and its vital importance is recognized by the Methodist Episcopal Catechism No. 3, p. 37, which says: "It

* Wesley's "Works," vol. vi, pp. 530, 531.

is the privilege of every believer to be wholly sanctified, and to love God with all his heart in the present life; but at every stage of Christian experience there is danger of falling from grace, which danger is to be guarded against by watchfulness, prayer, and a life of faith in the Son of God."

This quotation from the catechism of the Church raises the question in what sense and to what extent it is to be accepted as one of the Methodist doctrinal standards. Dr. Schaff † assigns to it conspicuous authority as one of them. ¶ 259 of the Discipline makes it "the duty of our preachers to enforce faithfully upon parents and Sunday-school teachers the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion; to see that our catechisms be used as extensively as possible in our Sunday-schools and families," etc. The language of this section evidently conveys the impression that the catechism contains a summary of all the essential doctrines of Christianity as held by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The General Conference of 1848 intended that it should be so when that body ordered its preparation. Their instructions were carried out by the Rev. Dr. Kidder, assisted by other divines, and their work was approved and adopted by the General Conference of 1852. The series Nos. 1, 2, 3, does not consist of three separate catechisms, but of *one*, in three stages of development, the language of the basis being unchanged in the different numbers. No. 3 presents something like a system of Christian doctrine in condensed form, and is designed "for an advanced grade of study."

This summary of Church doctrines enjoys the acceptance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, represented by the General Conference, and its use is obligatory, "as extensively as possible," upon ministers and members. Assuredly the Church has not spoken in any uncertain tones about her doctrinal beliefs. She has nothing to conceal, no set of opinions for private study and ministerial subscription, and one altogether different for pulpit use and prudential ministration. What she believes is proclaimed with fervid boldness. The Catechism is as explicit as, and infinitely more credible than, the Westminster Confession and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms.

Nor did the General Conference of 1852 exceed the limits

† "History of Creeds," p. 882.

of constitutional authority in the approving adoption of the catechism, for it neither revoked, altered, nor changed our Articles of Religion, nor established "any new standards or rules of doctrine *contrary* to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." All the definitions of the catechism are in concord with the Methodist *consensus* of creed, commentary, treatise, and discourse; nor has any Methodist preacher the legal right to impugn or attack them, unless he can show their *dissensus* from the other standards.

Art. III.—SHAKESPEARE: HIS WORKS AND HIS EDITORS.

The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare. Revised by George Stevens 20 vols., Folio. London: Printed by W. Bulmer & Co., Shakespeare Printing Office. For John and Josiah Boydell, George and W. Nichol. From the Types of W. Martin. 1802.

The Works of William Shakespeare. In Reduced Facsimile. From the Famous First Folio Edition of 1623. With an Introduction by J. O. Halliwell Phillips. 8vo, pp. 993. London: Chatto & Windus. Piccadilly. 1876.

Shakespeare's Comedy of the Merchant of Venice, etc. Edited with Notes by William J. Rolfe, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. 37 vols., 12mo, square. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Works of William Shakespeare. The Text Revised by Rev. Alexander Dyce. In Nine Volumes. Third Edition, 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall, 193 Piccadilly. 1875.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare. With a Glossary. A New Edition, Corrected and Improved. 8vo, pp. 1124. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1863.

The Complete Works of Shakespeare. From the Original Text. Carefully Collated and Compared with the Editions of Halliwell, Knight, and Collier. With Historical and Critical Introduction and Notes to each Play; and a Life of the Great Dramatist, by Charles Knight. 3 vols., Royal 8vo, pp. 1725. New York: Johnson, Wilson & Co.

Critics have spoken at times extravagantly of Shakespeare's songs and sonnets. There is much that is admirable in both; but the gems which give to "Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece" their radiant beauty are not the foundations on which his fame is built. If he had only sung in these songs and charmed in these sonnets he would never have "lifted us over all seas and mountains"—he would never have taken us, as he has, to the very summit of the highest heaven of genius-inspired and genius-inspiring rapture.

Shakespeare's fame, undying, overwhelming, transforming,

radiates from the dramatic portions of his works: his thirty-five or thirty-seven well-authenticated plays. These are usually divided into three divisions: comedies, historical, and tragedies. By whom this division was first made we know not. It is not, we think, the happiest arrangement that might have been devised. It is not a sufficiently discriminating one. There are histories that are also tragedies, and tragedies in which the soberest facts of history are mixed with comic elements of the broadest kind. The idea of the framer of this plan seems to have been that a play in which the events issue happily for the principal characters, must, for that reason, be regarded as a comedy, whereas a play the events of which come to a calamitous issue must, therefore, be regarded as a tragedy. In like manner, one in which the events happen in chronological order must be historical, though it might not be distinct from either tragedy or comedy. In noticing these divisions we will reverse the order in which they have been named.

The thirteen tragedies are to be distinguished from the other plays by their continuous sublimity and massive grandeur. Of these tragedies, ten are associated with countries which, so far as is known, Shakespeare never visited. Two of these, "King Lear" and "Cymbeline," belong to English history, and one, "Macbeth," has its scenes in Scotland. In "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Othello," and "King Lear," we have an illustration of Shakespeare's power in unveiling and depicting the baser, the most unlovable, of human passions.

In "King Lear," Taine tells us, "we have curses more than sufficient for all the madmen in an asylum and for all the oppressed of earth. Lear was the subject of ungrateful, savage, and diabolical cruelty in an age when vice reigned with lawless and gigantic power. He is a picture of human misery that has never been surpassed, and as an illustration of disordered reason, a portraiture beyond all reach of rivalry."

The dreaded suspicion that he was becoming insane dawns upon him in the midst of a dreadful tempest. Kent finds him on the heath in front of a hovel:

Kent. Here is the place, my lord; good my lord, enter:
The tyranny of the open night's too rough
For nature to endure.
Lear. Let me alone.

Kent. Good my lord, enter here.
Lear. Wilt break my heart?
Kent. I'd rather break mine own. Good my lord, enter.
Lear. Thou think'st 't is much that this contentious storm
Invades us to the skin; so 't is to thee;
But where the greater malady is fix'd
The lesser is scarce felt. Thou 'dst shun a bear;
But if thy flight lay toward the roaring sea,
Thou 'dst meet the bear i' the mouth.
When the mind's free
The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind
Doth from my senses take all feeling else,
Save what beats there.

He then curses the ingratitude of his daughters, and exclaims:

But I will punish home:—
No, I will weep no more. In such a night
To shut me out! Pour on; I will endure:—
In such a night as this! O Regan, Goneril!
Your old kind father, whose frank heart gave all,—
O, that way madness lies! let me shun that;
No more of that! *

"Troilus and Cressida," "Julius Cæsar," "Coriolanus," "Timon of Athens," and "Pericles" are based upon Greek and Roman histories, as is "Antony and Cleopatra." The characters included in these plays have been limned by Plutarch and Homer; but in neither case do they bear the slightest comparison with the same characters as drawn by Shakespeare. He individualizes them as neither the historian or poet had the ability to do. This is remarkably apparent in the play of "Julius Cæsar." We feel that Cassius, Brutus, Cæsar, and Antony are living men. They stand and speak in our presence as only real men can. The play is intended to be an artistic development of the motives that influenced Brutus to aid in the assassination of Cæsar, and of the result of that action. "Brutus is," says Swinburne, "the very noblest figure of a typical republican in all the literature of the world."

As in "Julius Cæsar" so in "Coriolanus." The principal character is not of Plutarch's painting. Plutarch makes Coriolanus to have been a cold, haughty patrician. Shakespeare's Coriolanus is a coarse soldier, a man of the people. He is an

* "King Lear," Act iii, Scene iv.

athlete. He has a voice like a trumpet. He is proud and terrible. A lion's soul in the body of a steer.* He fights and drinks, and drinks and fights again. His military prowess is unrivaled. His character is severely sublime. He has an undisguised contempt for every thing base, vulgar, pusillanimous.

It has been affirmed that "Macbeth" is the greatest effort of the poet's genius, and that it is the most sublime and imposing drama the world has ever seen. In the opinion of the profoundest critics, Macbeth is represented as being too great and good to fall under common temptations; hence supernatural agencies are employed to subvert him. He is exposed to the suggestions of hell on the one side, and to those of his fiend-like wife on the other. Originally brave, magnanimous, gentle, he falls a prey to the idea of FATE. This was first suggested by the weird sisters. To this suggestion was added the ferocious and sarcastic eloquence of Lady Macbeth. She clothes with splendor the issue of the deed; she taunts him with cowardice and irresolution; and, maddened, he rushes into the snare. As soon as the deed is done, conscience awakes. It accuses and condemns him. Horrified, he becomes the victim of agonizing remorse. He feels that he is deserted by God and man.

With what wonderful dramatic power does Shakespeare depict the beginning of Macbeth's misery. As soon as the murder was committed, Macbeth rushes into the presence of Lady Macbeth, and falters out:

Macbeth. I have done the deed. Didst thou not hear a noise?
Lady Macbeth. I heard the owl scream and the crickets cry.
Did not you speak?

. . . . . .

Macbeth. This is a sorry sight. (*Looking on his hands.*)
Lady Macbeth. A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight.
Macbeth. There's one did laugh in's sleep, and one cried, "Murther!"
That they did wake each other. I stood and heard them:
But they did say their prayers, and address'd them
Again to sleep.
Lady Macbeth. There are two lodg'd together.
Macbeth. One cried "God bless us!" and "Amen" the other;
as they had seen me with these hangman's hands,
Listening their fear. I could not say "Amen,"
When they did say, "God bless us!"

* Taine.

Lady Macbeth. Consider it not so deeply.
Macbeth. But wherefore could not I pronounce "Amen"?
I had most need of blessing, and "Amen"
Stuck in my throat.

After reproaches from Lady Macbeth, and her departure, he hears a knocking, and thus:

Macbeth. Whence is that knocking?
How is't with me, when every noise appals me?
What hands are here? Ha! They pluck out mine eyes.
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.*

After this Macbeth becomes distrustful, treacherous, cruel. He sweeps away all those whose talents, virtues, sufferings, pretentions, endanger his life. He hourly becomes more and more desperate and wretched.

In no other of Shakespeare's characters do we see so clearly the debilitating effect of a fear-creating conscience.

In "Timon of Athens" we have a most admirable satire on the folly and ingratitude of mankind. Timon, in thoughtless profusion, scatters his gifts on poets, painters, warriors, statesmen, only to find that men may buy flattery but not friendship. In the hour of trial his flatterers desert him, and he becomes misanthropic. Apemantus taunts him, and he replies:

I am sick of this false world; and will love nought
But even the mere necessities upon it.
Then, Timon, presently prepare thy grave;
Lie where the light foam of the sea may beat
Thy grave-stone daily: make thine epitaph,
That death in me at other's lives may laugh.

The historical plays commence with "King John," and end with "Henry the Eighth." These plays give evidence of an almost inspired insight into human character. We have in them a subtle analysis of the motives which control men in every possible position. Taking the dramatic incidents of any reign, Shakespeare crowds them together, and, regardless of the unities, he makes us to see and understand the political and social state of the people.†

* "Macbeth," Act ii, Scene 11.

† Drake, Hudson, Rolfe. All the critics, in fine.

The fourteen comedies are, and ever will be, the best known of all the poet has ever written. No man could have uttered them who had not a marvelous familiarity with nature, or who did not tenderly, sweetly, appreciate it in all its varied phases. They display, also, a power to paint the weaknesses and follies of men—such as all other men have aspired to in vain.

The necessity for quotation is here so great, that this paper can be kept within reasonable bounds only by exercising a heroic self-denial. It is in this division of his plays that Shakespeare gives us Falstaff, Mercutio, Touchstone, Jaques, Bassanio, Puck, Caliban, the Gobbos, and a hundred others all akin. For wit, imagination, and vividness of description, these are the most wonderful creations of which human genius can boast. If space would allow, we would quote the feats of the fairy Oberon, Mercutio's description of Queen Mab; Clarence's dream; the gossip babble of the nurse in "Romeo and Juliet;" Biondella's description of Petruchio's horse; Falstaff's personification of Prince Hal's father; the same worthy's interview with his page on the occasion of his visit to the doctor and the haberdasher Dombledon; his wonderful description of Bardolph's nose; his still more wonderful description of himself and his soldiers when about to march through Coventry; nor would we omit, but for the reason named, Dogberry's oration on the failure of the sexton to "write him down an ass." These plays bring into view and describe with inimitable fidelity over *nine hundred* characters, all wonderful, some of them not only unsurpassed, but unequaled, in literature.

No question is so often put to those who are supposed to have studied Shakespeare, as a specialty, than the one which usually is formulated on this wise—"Which of the plays do you regard as Shakespeare's greatest, and which is the most striking passage in that play?" Some say that "Macbeth," "Hamlet," "Richard the Third," "Romeo and Juliet," and "Julius Cæsar" are all equally great. Taine says that the most powerful passage in all Shakespeare's works is the scene between the three queens in "Richard the Third." If we would go with the multitude we must make our choice out of the well-known passages commencing: "The quality of mercy is not strained;" "All the world's a stage;" "To be or not to be," etc. We choose to elect to the highest honor the beautiful paraphrase

of our Lord's words, given in the first act of "Measure for Measure." Read the words of the blessed Saviour on the impolicy of hiding the talent, and then read the duke's address to Angelo:

> *Duke.* Angelo,
> There is a kind of character in thy life,
> That to th' observer, doth thy history
> Fully unfold. Thyself and thy belongings
> Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
> Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
> Heaven doth with us as we with torches do;
> Not light them for themselves: for if our virtues
> Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
> As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely touch'd
> But to fine issues: nor Nature never lends
> The smallest scruple of her excellence,
> But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines
> Herself the glory of a creditor,
> Both thanks and use.*

It is specially worthy of notice that *Shakespeare makes constant reference in all his works to a life to come.* The poet seems to be constantly making an effort to unite men to two states of existence. This is especially true in "Henry the Sixth," "Hamlet," "Measure for Measure," and "Macbeth." Too much, in our opinion, has been made of Shakespeare's indebtedness to the Bible. That he was familiar with the Scriptures, and that the revelations made therein lay at the foundation of his belief in a future life, is, without doubt, true, very true; but his philosophy embraces science and the loftiest thoughts of uninspired men. It is worthy of remark that Shakespeare uses the word "conversion" in the old-fashioned Methodist sense. But there is no such use of the Bible as is implied in the statement that the Scriptures suggested his religious thoughts. Bishop Wilberforce has said: "If we take the entire range of English literature, and put together what our best authors have written upon subjects not professedly religious or theological, we shall not find in all united so much evidence of the Bible having been read as we find in Shakespeare." This is the proper way of putting the matter. Shakespeare was a reader, it may be a lover, of the Bible. But the man is narrow, if not fanatical, who bases upon these admitted facts an

* "Measure for Measure," Act i, Scene 1.

argument to prove that Shakespeare was a *pious* man or a religionist in any sense. He was, doubtless, endued with religious sentiment, and had penetration enough to see in the word of God a wonderful corroboration and illustration of those truths to which he was most anxious to give universal currency. There are in Shakespeare some most remarkable adaptations of inspired thought. In addition to the passage already quoted from "Measure for Measure," who does not call to mind the speech of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida"?

> *Ulysses.* But when the planets
> In evil mixture, to disorder wander,
> What plagues, and what portents? what mutiny?
> What raging of the sea? shaking of earth?
> Commotion in the winds? frights, changes, horrors,
> Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
> The unity and married calm of states
> Quite from their fixure?

This is almost a paraphrase of Luke xxi, 25–26. In fact, Shakespeare is always reminding us of the Bible. No wonder that careless readers confound their quotations, and seek to extenuate their inexcusable ignorance by the plea, "I was sure it was either in Shakespeare or the Bible." Shakespeare reminds us of the Bible, not by his direct quotations, but by a similar simplicity of diction.

Of all the poets who have enriched our vocabulary, we owe the most to Shakespeare.

Our great poet, Milton, has remarkable opulence of expression, but we are told that his vocabulary is limited to eight thousand words; Dante has only five thousand eight hundred; whereas Shakespeare has fifteen thousand! Look into Mrs. Cowden Clarke's "Concordance," and stand amazed. Forty per cent. of his words are from the Latin, and some of those he has incorporated into our mother tongue are very choice. The greater part, however, are Saxon and monosyllabic. A late writer in "Lippincott's Magazine" says that of these fifteen thousand, six thousand only appear once. "On every average page of Shakespeare," he says, "you are greeted and gladdened by at least five new words that you never saw before in his writings, and that you will never see again—speaking once and then for ever holding their peace. Each

not only rare, but a nonsuch. Five gems just shown and then snatched away."

Shakespeare unlocks to us a vast store-house of epithets, and it is only by a careful study of this greatest master of the language that we can know the richness and copiousness of the mother tongue. The *marvelous suggestiveness* of these epithets is what will strike every thoughtful reader.

In one short passage of four lines, we have epithets that do the work of a painter:

> *Duke S.* Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
> And yet it irks me the *poor dappled fools*,—
> Being *native burghers* of this desert city,
> Should, in their own confines, with *forked heads*
> Have their *round haunches* gor'd.

Let the student take a few of the abstract nouns, and see what he makes of them. Sighs are *blood-consuming;* disdain is *sour-eyed;* gentleness is *milky;* despair is *black;* rage is *tiger-footed;* pomp, *painted;* fear, *shuddering;* jealousy, *green-eye'd;* scorn, *salt;* sorrow, *gnarled;* envy, *lean-faced;* discontent has *murmuring lips;* virtue, *steely bones;* emulation, *pale and bloodless;* a flatterer is *glass-faced;* a powerless man has *corky, pithless* arms; hypocrites are *onion eye'd;* pestilence is *red;* the winds *scold;* winter is *sap-consuming;* fortune has *an ivory hand;* ambition *vaults;* slow men have *leaden legs;* homely men are *tripe-visaged;* reputation is *a bubble;* hills are *heaven-kissing;* death is *dusty.* The writer has made a list of thousands of these epithets, and they are a continual marvel to him. They would have been published, but the fate of Holofernes, the learned school-master, and the still sadder fate of Sir Nathaniel, the wise curate, have, in an admonitory way, stayed the compiler's hand. These worthies, it will be remembered, charge each other with having been to "a great feast of languages," and as having "stolen the scraps" of Nathaniel, thus:

> *Hol.* He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. I abhor such fanatical fantasms, such insociable and point-devise companions; such rackers of orthography, as to speak, dout, fine, when he should say, doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt d, e, b, t; not d, e, t; he clepeth a calf, cauf; half, hauf. . . . This is abhominable (which he would call abominable): it insinuateth me of insanie."

On the return of Titus Andronicus from a successful campaign, Marcus is represented as exhorting him to put on the white robe of those named for the empire:

> *Mar.* Titus Andronicus, the people of Rome,
> Whose friend in justice thou hast ever been,
> Send thee by me, their tribune, and their trust,
> This palliament of white and spotless hue;
> And name thee in election for the empire,
> With these our later deceased emperor's sons:
> Be candidatus, then, and put it on,
> And help to *set an head on headless Rome.**

With such a source the phrase we have italicised ceases to be slang.

Lear, when addressing Gloucester, says:

> *Get thee glass eyes;*
> And, like a scurvy pŏlitician, seem
> To see the things thou dost not.†

Similar advice has been given in our day, and those who gave it allowed the multitude to suppose it new. Phrases which some of us were sure had their birth in our own day, are some of them more than two hundred years old. We recognize one such in Henry the Eighth. The king, frowning on his flatterers, says:

> But know I come not
> To hear such flattery now, and in my presence;
> They are *too thin* and bare to hide offenses.‡

The most astounding feature of these plays is the almost incredible number of subjects that the writer has touched with his wonder-working wand. In his "Student's Shakespeare," lately published, the writer of this article has collated Shakespeare's thoughts on no less than five thousand subjects, and the rich mine is far from being exhausted. The most astounding thing about it all is that *there is no repetition*, either of thought or phraseology. No ringing of the changes on a few favorite ideas or characters. It has been said that Byron could only paint two portraits. The one was a *rake*, the other a *misanthrope*. So with the great living authors. They have a few characters with whom they seem to be in love, and they

* "Titus Andronicus," Act i, Scene 2.
† "King Lear," Act iv, Scene 6.
‡ "Henry the Eighth," Act v, Scene 2.

repeat them with slight variations again and again. It is said of Dickens that he had to keep within the smoke of London, and that he was lost outside. Scott had to keep on his native heather, but Shakespeare sweeps through all lands and ages, and gives us pictures of all of human kind.

A distinction must be made between the plays of Shakespeare as they were written by him and as they are rendered on the stage. Swinburne tells us that the best passages in "Hamlet" are *never* given on the stage. Lear, as acted on the boards, has a miserable love story, written by one Nahum Tate, running all through it. It has been affirmed that there are not twenty consecutive lines from the great poet to be found in any version used by "the profession." His plays, we are told, *have to be cut down to the level of the actors.* Many of the things to which exceptions are taken at times, it is suspected, were never written by Shakespeare. The interpolations, in stage parlance, are called "gags," and were extemporized by actors to suit the tastes of their audiences.

There are some things which Shakespeare has treated originally and almost prophetically—certainly he has treated them in advance of his times. It will be remembered that Shakespeare died more than half a century before Newton gave to the world his theory of gravitation. Yet he makes Cressida say:

> The strong base and building of my love
> Is *as the very center of the earth,*
> *Drawing all things to it.**

Before Harvey made his name immortal by proclaiming his great discovery of the circulation of the blood, Shakespeare's Brutus said to Portia:

> You are my true and honorable wife;
> As dear to me, *as are the ruddy drops*
> *That visit my sad heart.*†

It is only as yesterday that even scholars began to use with any degree of frequency the word *heredity*, but how much of it we have in Shakespeare. So with regard to insanity. The greatest of our modern physicians have recourse to Shakespeare for instruction in the diagnosis of this mysterious state. So, in regard to conscience, both the platform and the pulpit

* "Troilus and Cressida," Act iv, Scene 2.
† "Julius Cæsar," Act ii, Scene 1.

are his debtors. Joseph Cook's rendering of some passages from "Richard the Third" is like a new revelation from the sky. The dream of Richard on the eve of the battle, as given by him, thrilled us to the very core.

There are many who object to the realistic pictures with which our great artist's works abound. And yet the objectors are perhaps the very persons who listen admiringly to lascivious Italian songs, or read with undisguised satisfaction the nastiest French novels. Consistency is worth something, but these hypocrites ignore it. Every objection in this direction lies with measurable force against the Bible as translated under the patronage of King James. As compared with much that is read without a blush or an uttered protest, Shakespeare lies

> Upon the wings of night
> Whiter than new snow on a raven's back.*

In selecting an edition of this great master of English thought and expression, the student will, of course, be guided by his tastes, his means, and by the end he seeks to gain in his studies.

There are several editions that are utterly beyond the reach of all but millionaires. The Boydell edition of 1802 is without question the most sumptuous ever given to the public. The paper is heavy, the type larger than any we have elsewhere seen. The illustrations have a world-wide fame. It is difficult to obtain this edition at any price. It can be seen in some public libraries. We have not space to dwell upon other and equally rare editions, nor need we, as it would take the price of a principality to buy the cheapest of them.

A writer in the "Quarterly Review" (Eng.) in 1859 tells us that the works of Shakespeare have passed through three stages. In the first, they were printed with care. In the second, conjectural criticism prevailed. In the third, ancient readings were more thoroughly ascertained, and the Elizabethan literature ransacked to clear up the allusions and the language. They have now reached a fourth and, it may be, a final one—a stage of digestion and comparison. This stage was inaugurated by Knight, who had perhaps an undue faith in the readings of the first folios. In 1843 Mr. Collier entered the lists, and he put his confidence in the quartos. Then came

* "Romeo and Juliet," Act iii, Scene 2.

the Dyce editions. That of 1875 is remarkable for the purity of its text. The notes are few, and they are marked by brevity and pointedness. The type is magnificent, it has broad margins, and is correspondingly expensive.

Furness' "New Variorum," (Phil., 1873,) is as yet incomplete, and belongs to the luxurious class. It bids fair to occupy a very enviable position among scholars, but its cost places it out of the reach of men of ordinary means. Nothing of this kind can be said of the Globe, and numerous other cheap editions. They are, however, printed in small type and often on inferior paper, and to most they would be dear at any price.

Much might be said in commendation of Hudson's edition, but upon the whole we give decided preference to the one in course of publication for Mr. Rolfe, of Cambridge, by the Harper Brothers. Twenty-five of the thirty-seven plays are already before the public. They are profusely illustrated, and in the highest style of typographical art. They are marvels of careful collation and painstaking accuracy. If "Rolfe's Edition" was not sufficiently distinctive, we would call it the "Friendly Edition," the edition which we can make a companion of. It is not a fatiguing book to hold, a play can be selected and put in our pocket, or it will lie modestly at the bottom of the smallest traveling-bag, furnishing just such a dainty morsel as an intellectual lunch should ever be. The compactness of the notes entitles it to the position of a standard "Variorum" edition. It contains a vast amount of incidental information illustrative of the times of the poet, the manners of the people, and of contemporary writers. As to Shakespearian localities, this edition is far in advance of all others. It is surprising how ignorant some English editors seem to have been of the topography of their own country. Mr. Rolfe not only avoids all errors of this kind himself, but exhaustively corrects the errors of others. For instance, in "Richard the Third" we do not know of a single English editor who seems to know the truth as to what "Crosby House" was or is. Their statements are as various as the authorities on which they depend. The same and more is true of "Baynard's Castle," and "The Blue Boar." Of all editions, this for the teacher and the student is the best. To say more would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess."

Art. IV.—PERSIAN POETRY.

Gulistán. Sheikh Sadi Shirazi. Munshi Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow. 1881.
Bostán. Sheikh Sadi Shirazi. Munshi Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow. 1881.

"Poetry has ever been held in the greatest veneration in the East. If the ancient Greeks and Romans gave to their poets all the honors they lavished on their inferior divinities, the Persians have ranked them with their Imams and Prophets, and have as willingly abided by their commands as by the injunctions of their Holy Writ. The Persians are enthusiastically devoted to poetry. It forms the very essence of their religion. The meanest artisan, the rudest soldier, the proudest noble, and the tyrant king, are alike charmed by the strains of the minstrel who sings a mystic song of divine love. They may forget the words of Mohammed, they may neglect the maxims of their Sharehs, but the verses of Sadi and Hafiz are indelibly impressed on their memory."

Centuries, long and busy and full of change, have passed since Ferdusi, Sadi, and Hafiz delighted the people of the country they adorned, but to-day, throughout Persia, India, and the lands that lie between, they are appealed to and their words quoted with a readiness and frequency difficult to describe. In street-preaching among Mohammedans we often hear the verse from Sadi,

> Darogh i maslahat-amez bih az rást i fitna-angez.
>
> A lie purporting good is better than a truth exciting disturbance.

This is quoted with the greatest possible assurance, and the verse is used in its widest signification. In the year 1792, when the embassadors of Tippoo Sultan were at Madras, engaged in their mission of raising an insurrection against the British Government, one of them, in his letter to his master, advises him to agree to a proposal "upon the principle recommended by the sage and worthy Khivaja Hafiz Shirazi, (on whom may the mercy of the Lord forever rest,) *With friends cordiality, with enemies dissimulation.*"

As has been well remarked by Sir William Jones, the verses which justify vice are oftener quoted than those in praise of virtue—so weak, alas! is human nature, especially in Oriental

lands. On the other hand, however, instances are not wanting. It is related that one of the kings of Persia, a man of acknowledged talents, being out one Friday to attend service at the royal mosque, one of his attendants struck a poor Christian who ventured to approach the cavalcade, accompanying the blow with an awful imprecation: "Begone to hell, O cursed dog; this is not your church!" The injured youth with much presence of mind replied in a couplet from Hafiz:

> I have been to the temple, the mosque, and the church,
> And the same God I found worshiped in all.

The king smiled with admiration, and extended his hand to the young man, who went home richer by two hundred rupees.

Hafiz especially is constantly resorted to by Mohammedans when seeking for an omen. Owing, no doubt, to the ambiguous nature of many of the couplets in his "Diwán," this book is regarded as the one of all others from which to draw an augury. The female members of the Mohammedan household make it the constant court of appeal in deciding the grave questions of every-day life. This practice is not confined to the *zenanas;* it is said that the king, Nadir Shah, chose a passage from the odes of Hafiz before undertaking a siege.

The oldest extant specimen of Persian poetry is the romance of Wamik and Asra, which appeared in the latter part of the sixth century, while as yet the worship of fire had not been superseded by the religion of Mohammed. The theme of the poem is:

> Old as the rose, first into beauty blowing,
> Old as the sun himself first into passion glowing.

Wamik and Asra, the Glowing and the Blowing, are personifications of the two great principles of heat and vegetation, the vivifying energy of heaven and the corresponding fertility of earth.

After the Moslem conquest of the country in 636, literature declined, and thus remained until the tenth century, when the language was restored, and there was hardly a prince or governor of a city who had not poets and *literati* in his train. One of the most distinguished of these patrons of letters was Mahmud of Ghazni, famous also as being the first Mohammedan ruler who successfully invaded India. To his court

repaired the peasant Ferdusi, to whom the sultan committed the execution of a long-cherished project—the composition of a poetical history of Persia from the foundation of the monarchy till the Moslem conquest. A mass of materials, consisting of oral traditions collected by a previous poet, was placed at his disposal, and his reward was to be a *dinár* for every distich. The task occupied thirty years; the work, entitled the "Shahnamah," included sixty thousand distichs, and secured for its author the title of "the Homer of Persia."

Of this production (which is still popular throughout India, where it is read in the original and in an Urdu translation) so eminent an authority as Sir W. Jones has declared that "the plan of the 'Shahnamah' was in some respects finer than that of the 'Iliad;'" but, as has been pointed out by later writers, the two plans cannot be compared because they have nothing in common. The "Shahnamah" cannot properly be styled an epic. "There is not from beginning to end so much as an endeavor to delineate character. Rustum, the hero, is no more of a human being than the Iron Man in Spenser's "Faerie Queene." He is simply a machine in the form of a man, and possessed of almost unlimited force. At the age of five he kills with one blow of a club a mad white elephant. When he puts his hand on the backs of the strongest horses they sink down and roll upon the earth incapable of enduring the pressure." The author excels, it is true, like the Homer with whom he is compared, in his descriptions of battles.

On the completion of his work the poet was paid with sixty thousand pieces of silver instead of gold. Indignant at this evasion of the contract, Ferdusi distributed the money on the spot to the people about him, and vowed to avenge himself in a manner worthy of a poet. He left Ghazni, but before his departure he committed to the monarch's private secretary a carefully sealed packet, desiring him to present it the first time his master happened to be in a melancholy mood. The packet contained the following bitter satire:

> What could one expect from the son of a slave,
> But that, sooner or later, he'd turn out a knave?
> Let his head with a crown be encircled about,
> The meanness will somewhere be sure to peep out.
> Plant in Eden's fair garden a bitter-fruit tree,
> Let its waters of heavenly purity be;

Let rich dropping honey bedew the young root—
Still, still you will find that bitter's the fruit.
Bring the heavenly peacock, and cause it to brood
O'er the egg of a raven; and then let the food
Of the nestling be fig-seeds from Eden's fair tree,
And let Gabriel breathe on it—holy is he!
Let it drink of the water of sweet Salsebil—
What does it avail?—'tis a hoarse raven still!
Deposit a viper in that rosy bed;
With the choicest of luxuries let it be fed—
Is it tamed by your kindness, or softened its spite?
O no! it turns on you with venomous bite.
By night, bring an owl to your elegant bowers;
Let it perch on the rose-bushes, sport 'mid the flowers;
But as soon as the day spreads its wings on the sky,
So soon will the owl stretch its pinions to fly,
And seek the tall forests in darkness to lie.
So sure as our garments catch odorous smell
In a shop of rich perfumes—and so far 'tis well—
They will borrow as surely a dark dusty hue
If we stand by a forge—you allow this is true;
Then wonder no more if a dark, evil deed,
From a dark evil man spontaneous proceed.
No more can the Ethiop make himself white,
Than a soul of mean birth can emerge into light,
And show itself generous, noble, and wise—
So let not the poets throw dust in our eyes.
O king! if I sooner this lesson had learned,
I should not be mourning my hopes overturned.

From the tenth century to the fourteenth was the Golden Age of Persian literature, the Mohammedan princes maintaining a kind of literary rivalship in the patronage of letters, so that to excel in poetry was the surest way to fame and fortune. Of all the cities of Persia none gave birth to more distinguished poets than Shiraz, "the Athens of the East." This classic city was so fertile in luxuries of every kind as to give occasion to a popular saying that "if Mohammed had tested the pleasures of Shiraz he would have begged of Allah to make him immortal there." It was the birth-place of Sadi and Hafiz, two of the brightest stars that shine in this constellation.

Hafiz was born in 1300. He led a life of poverty, which he considered inseparable from genius, and which, according to his creed, was the only medium of salvation. Unlike most poets of his age, he refused all invitations to courts. Gheias Ud Din, Emperor of India, sent him a pressing request to visit

him, but the poet politely declined. He replied in a poem which concluded as follows:

O Hafiz, why conceal the desire that possesses you of visiting Sultan Gheias Ud Din?
It is your business to complain of the distance that separates you

The poetry of Hafiz is entirely lyrical; his strains are noted for their music and eloquence. He was gifted with an imagination remarkable for its creative fancy. A recent writer praises him as follows: "Hafiz is a genuine poet—so far as we know, the sweetest of all Persian poets. There is in his poetry a freshness and a fragrance as of early spring flowers, a careless outpouring of joy as free from any after-taste of bitterness as the caroling of a bird among the leaves of summer." The same author says, and the words but too plainly indicate the saddest defect of Persian poetry, "All problems of life and thought he pushes to one side by a simple reference to fate, and dwells upon an earth where 'no cold moral reigns.' Roses, wine, and women, spring, summer, sunshine, these things are all pleasant surely; and 'who knoweth what thing cometh after death?' Such is the beginning, middle, and end of Hafiz's philosophy."

The following renderings of some of this poet's verses may be quoted:

Be patient, O my heart! be not vexed; verily the morn is succeeded by the night, and the night is succeeded by the day.

Some labor in the paths of love; others leave every thing to fate. But place no reliance on the permanency of the world; it is a tenement liable to many changes.

Be not sorry if a day of calamity should come; pass on, be thankful, lest greater ill betide thee.

His celebrated ode on the "Maid of Shiraz" is not worthy a place in the pages of the Quarterly. The following may suffice:

ODE BY HAFIZ.

Veiled is my soul in this material clay;
Blest be the hour that tears the veil away!
The imprisoned bird in sadness pours her strains,
So pines my soul to join her native plains.
Where am I come? or whence had I my birth?
Alas! I know not, nor aught else on earth.

Confined and bound in this material state
How shall I soar to purer realms of fate?
Yet will I hope the promised world of bliss;
And, with such hope, who would remain in this?
What if my heart reveal its longing woes?
The musk of Khotun must its sweets disclose.
The glittering tissue on my outward vest
But ill conceals the flame within my breast;
Come, then, transcendent source of life divine!
To thee the life thou gavest I resign;
Thou only livest; Hafiz is but thine!

It has been made a subject of discussion whether the poems of Hafiz should be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense. Strange as it may seem, the question is not capable of an easy solution. According to Jones, it "does not admit of a general answer. The most enthusiastic Sufis allow that there are some passages in the Odes of Hafiz which may be understood literally, and which are void of mystery as the words of God, while there are some entire odes which breathe the very essence of their philosophy, and to the general reader appear confused and obscure." *

* To give an account of Sufism—which has exercised so powerful an influence over the greatest minds of Persia and India—would require too lengthy a digression. Intimately connected as it is with the subject in hand we cannot pass it without a few words. It is an attractive and very popular species of Pantheism. The following passage from the "Bostán" of the poet Sadi helps to an understanding of it in its more moderate form:

"The love of a being composed, like thyself, of water and clay, destroys thy patience and peace of mind; it excites thee in thy waking hours with minute beauties, and engages thee in thy sleep with vain imaginations. With such real affection dost thou lay thy head at her feet, that the universe, in comparison with her, vanishes into nothing before thee; and since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else, for with her thou hast no room for any other. Thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye; or, when thou closest it, in thy heart. Thou hast no fear of censure from any man; thou hast no power to be at rest for a moment; if she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy lips. Since an absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee so violently, and commands thee with a sway so despotic, canst thou wonder that they who walk in the true path are drowned in the sea of mysterious adoration? They disregard life through affection for its giver; they abandon the world, through remembrance of its maker; they are inebriated with the melody of their amorous plaints; they remember their beloved, and resign to him both this life and the next. Through remembrance of God they shun all mankind; they are so enamored of the cup-bearer that they spill the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them, for no mortal can be apprised of their malady; so loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity

The countrymen of Hafiz regarded him with mixed feelings. At the time of his death there were many who considered his works sinful and impious. They remonstrated against his being buried in consecrated ground; but his followers maintained that Hafiz never acted contrary to the leading tenets of the Koran, and that his life deserved every honor that could be bestowed on the life of a saint. "His opponents went even so far as to arrest the procession of his funeral. The dispute became hot, and blows were imminent, when it was agreed that a line of his own should settle the dispute. If it were to be in favor of religion his friends were to proceed with the bier; if the verse were calculated to promote immorality, the corpse was to be removed to such quarters as are intended to receive the remains of the infidels. The odes were produced before a person whose eyes were bound, and seven pages were counted back, when the inspired finger pointed to the following couplet:

> Qadam daregh madár az janáza e Hafiz,
> Agarchi gharq i gunah ast mirawad rah bihisht.

Or, in other words,

> Grudge not your steps to Hafiz' funeral train;
> Though sunk in sin, his way to bliss is plain.

A shout arose; the admirers of the poet took up the bier, and those who had doubted joined them in carrying it for interment. To this day honor is done to the sacred spot, and to the memory of the great bard, by strewing flowers and pouring out libations of the choicest wines on his grave."

During the last four hundred years no names have appeared in Persia worthy to rank with those of Ferdusi, Sadi, and Hafiz. Persian literature became almost extinct in the sixteenth century, and has had little opportunity for revival, owing to the oppression and social disorganization under which the country has labored.

Something should be said of the forms of poetic composition

without beginning, the divine query addressed to myriads of assembled souls, 'Art thou of God?' with the tumultuous reply, 'We are.' They are a sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement; their feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame; . . . like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern."

among the Persians. These are (1) the "Rubai:" this consists of four hemistichs or two stanzas, and bears some resemblance to the epigram of the ancients; it is in great favor among Persian poets. (2) The "Ghazal:" this corresponds to the ode of the Greeks and Romans. The most common subject of which it treats is love; other subjects are also dwelt upon, such as the delights of the season of spring, the beauties of the flowers of the garden, and the tuneful notes of the nightingales warbling among the rose-bushes; the praise of wine and hilarity, with an occasional pithy allusion to the brevity of human life. The first couplet is called the "Matla," or "the place of rising," (of a heavenly body,) and the rule is that both hemistichs of this couplet should have the same meter and rhyme; the remaining couplets must have the same meter, and the second hemistichs of each (but not necessarily the first) must rhyme with the "Matla." The concluding couplet is called the "Makta," or "the place of cutting short." In the "Makta" the poet manages to introduce his own name, or rather his *nom de plume*. As a general rule, the Ghazal must consist of at least five couplets, and not more than fifteen. (3) The "Kasida," which resembles the *idyllium* of the Greeks; its subjects are generally praise of great personages, living or deceased; satire, elegy, and sometimes burlesques, also moral and religious reflections. When the subject is panegyric, in the concluding couplet the poet finishes with a benediction or prayer for the health and prosperity of the person addressed, such as, "May thy life, health, and prosperity endure as long as the sun and moon revolve!" (4) The "Kita;" this resembles the "Kasida." (5) The "Masnavi," a kind of epic poem, generally on amorous subjects or on the pleasures of the spring. The verses are not confined by any rule, as in the Ghazal; the poet alone determines the length of the poem.

Regarding the merits of Persian poetry, critics differ widely. Sir William Jones, the distinguished Oriental scholar, was profuse in praise. A century ago he wrote: "It has been my endeavor for several years to inculcate this truth, that if the principal writings of the Asiatics which are reposited in our public libraries were printed, with the usual advantages of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every

other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light which future scholars might explain and future poets might imitate."

We doubt if such sentiments are entertained by any eminent critic of to-day. Most would rather indorse the assertion of a recent writer in the "Calcutta Review," that "good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental." The cloudless sky of Persia and the serenity of its summer nights make it natural for its poets to indulge in frequent allusions to the beauty of the heavenly bodies; the profusion of flowers and the richness of their perfume impart a grace to some of the rural images which, it is urged, we can hardly appreciate. But, making due allowance for all this, we venture the opinion that the world would have lost but little had all Persian literature been destroyed centuries ago.

As compared with the poetry of Europe, Persian poetry cannot but be assigned a lower place. The following words of a recent writer are to the point: "A poem was not regarded by the Persians as something one and organic, to be molded and developed in accordance with some preconceived idea. Certain things, for example, roses, nightingales, wine, and women with black moles on their cheeks, are considered poetical in so special a sense that a man who rings the changes on these writes poetry of necessity. Strong in this conviction, the Persian poets sing out all that is in them, careful only for the construction of the verse and a due garniture of the recognized poetic imagery. The poet only hits upon excellence, as it were, by an accident. It is but a passing flash which illuminates the darkness."

Persian poets as a rule are very egotistical. At the conclusion of one of his finest odes Hafiz thus speaks of himself:

> What can the minstrel sing at the banquet of a prince
> If he singeth not the verses of Hafiz?

The childish habit of incorporating their names in their verses, which the Persian poets adopted, evidences both

weakness and vanity, and calls forth our severest disapproval. Imagine the Poet Laureate closing a poem in some such fashion as this:

Rather think of death than life, O my Alfred Tennyson;
When thou goest from this world leave thy friends thy benison!

Passing by the charge of puerility, which may be fairly urged against these gifted but dreamy poets, we pause to speak briefly of the indecency which marks their writings. They often indulge their humor in what was coarse and immodest. Sadi not only wrote a volume called "The Book of Impurities," which he said was designed to give a relish to his other works, but allowed violations of decency to disfigure the "Gulistán" and the "Bostán." In our mission schools we find it desirable to use these Persian classics, but are obliged to obtain expurgated editions, and these are published only at our mission presses. Native readers and publishers are alike blind to their blemishes. Comment here is needless.

The "Musnavi," so highly praised by Jones, "is a medley of pathos and sublimity, the purest ethics mingled with the grossest obscenity, utter doggerel interspersed with passages of the finest poetry." This criticism is applicable indeed to all Persian poetry.

This sad failure to attain the high level of purity of thought and grandeur of aim is not to be wondered at. The teachings of the Koran and the Mohammedan theory of the unseen world make any other result impossible. We would emphasize the words of a writer already quoted:

"It is absolutely impossible to conceive of English literature if purged from the admixture of Christian thought; of a Shakspeare, for example, without one thought of Him 'who, eighteen hundred years ago, was nailed for our advantage to the bitter cross;' or a Milton with no other conception of the celestial beatitudes than those compatible with black-eyed damsels and flowing cups of wine. The East and the West have reflected in their literature the image of the rock whence they were hewn, and, in so far as Christ was a greater power and more complete a being than the Prophet, in so far at least the poetry of the West must be superior to that of the East. If to this we add the absence of freedom and national life which mark

the annals of the East, and the debasing tendencies of a social system which degrades woman into 'a soulless toy for tyrant's lust,' we shall have said enough to account for the unspiritual and passionless character of Persian poetry." *

We have reserved for the close our mention of Sadi, who is considered the greatest of Persian poets after Ferdusi. He was born in Shiraz in 1194. He early embraced a religious life, and is said to have performed fifteen pilgrimages on foot to Mecca. He further proved himself a good Mohammedan by bearing arms against the Crusaders of Europe. He was taken captive and was employed in digging trenches before Tripoli, where he was recognized and ransomed for ten *dinárs* by a rich merchant of Aleppo. His benefactor afterward gave him his daughter in marriage with a dowry of a hundred dinars; but she proved a termagant, and one day tauntingly asked him whether he was not the fellow her father had released from slavery for ten *dinárs*. "Yes," replied Sadi, "but only to enslave me to you for a hundred."

The principal works of Sadi are the "Gulistán," the "Bostán," and a collection of odes and sonnets arranged in a "Diwán." The "Gulistán," (Rose Garden,) which is his most celebrated work, is a collection of moral and political precepts, philosophical sentences, moral maxims, epigrams, and *bonmots*, in verse of various measure, each being generally introduced by a short anecdote or fable in prose. The work is divided into eight chapters, as follows: On the Morals of Kings; on the Morals of Darweshes; on the Excellency of Contentment; on the Advantages of Taciturnity; on Love and Youth; on Imbecility and Old Age; on the Effects of Education; Rules for Conduct in Life. Of this very popular book it is no exaggeration to say that in India alone hundreds of thousands of copies are published every year. In vernacular schools as well as among the *literati* it is considered a *vade mecum*.

We subjoin a few translations (mostly in prose and, therefore, truer to the original) from this Rose Garden:

I. The Flag and the Curtain.

In hikayat shano ki dar Bagdad
Raiyat o parda rá Khiláf uftád

* R. D. Osborn.

Raiyat az gard i rah o ranje rakáb,
Guft ba parda az tarikh e itáb,
Man o to har do Khwája tá shánem
Bande bárgáh e Sultánem.
Man zi khidmat dame na ásudam,
Gáh o begáh dar safar budam,
To na ranj aznudai na hisár,
Na bayabánon bad e gard o gubár,
Qadam i man ba sayi peshtar ast,
Pas charra rahat e to beshtar ast,
To bar e bandagán i mahrui,
Bá gulámán e yásaman bui,
Man fitádá badast i shágirdán,
Ba safar paeband o sargardán.
Guft man sarbar ástár dáram,
Na cho to sar bar ásmán dáram.
Har ki behudá gardan afrázad
Kheshtan rá ba gardan andázad.

TRANSLATION.*

Attend to the following story: In the city of Bagdad there happened a contention between the flag and the curtain. The flag, disgusted with the dust of the road and the fatigue of marching, said to the curtain in displeasure, "You and myself are schoolfellows, both servants of the sultan's court. I never enjoy a moment's relaxation from business, being obliged to travel at all seasons; you have not experienced the fatigue of marching, the danger of storming the fortress, the perils of the desert, nor the inconveniences of whirlwinds and dust; my foot is more forward in enterprise; why, then, is thy dignity greater than mine? You pass your time among youths beautiful as the moon, and with virgins odoriferous as jasmine; I am carried in the hands of menial servants, and travel with my feet in bands and my head agitated by the wind." The curtain replied: "My head is placed on the threshold, and not, like yours, raised up to the sky. Whosoever, through folly, exalts his neck, precipitates himself into distress."

II. Prosperity and Adversity.

A king was sitting in a vessel with a Persian slave. The boy having never before seen the sea, nor experienced the inconvenience of a ship, began to cry and lament, and his whole body was in a tremor. Notwithstanding all the soothings that were offered, he would not be pacified. The king's diversions were interrupted, and no remedy could be found. A philosopher who was in the ship said, "If you will command me I will silence him." The king replied, "It will be an act of great kindness." The philosopher ordered them to throw the boy into the sea, and

*Gladwin's.

after several plunges, they laid hold of the hair of his head, and dragging him toward the ship, he clung to the rudder with both his hands. When he got out of the water he sat down quietly in a corner of the vessel. The king was pleased and asked how this was brought about. The philosopher replied, "At first he had never experienced the danger of being drowned; neither knew he the safety of the ship. In like manner he knoweth the value of prosperity who hath encountered adversity."

III. Lip Service.

A rich miser having a son that was sick, his friends represented that he ought either cause the Koran to be read from beginning to end, or else offer sacrifice, that the high God might restore his son to health. After a little consideration he said: "It is better to read the Koran, as it is at hand, and flocks are at a distance." A holy man, hearing this, said: "He preferred reading the Koran because the words are at the tip of his tongue and the money is in the inside of his heart. Alas! if the performance of religious rites was to be accompanied with alms, they would remain like the ass in the mire; but if you require only the first chapter of the Koran, they will repeat it a hundred times."

IV. On a Miser.

Were heaven's bright spheres placed in the miser's hands,
To roll obsequious at his high commands;
If all the wealth of Cræsus were his own,
Or this huge globe became the wretch's throne;
Fortune, his slave, could not produce one claim,
To crown her lord with Fame's exalted name.
What are their hoards of gold but dross the whole,
Who lack that glowing mine, a feeling soul?
Poor sordid worms may crawl for years in pain,
By land or sea, and look to heaven in vain.
Religion says: "Sure nought avails his store,
Whose aching heart is craving still for more."
While noble minds wealth's purest fruits enjoy,
Gold's growing cares the miser's peace destroy.
Those live indeed—*these* life's rich harvest blast,
Nay, daily starve, and die of want at last.

The "Bostán" (Tree Garden) is a work wholly in verse, divided into ten books, and embodying chiefly the religious sentiments of the author. A short selection from the third book may suffice:

The wise select the kernel, not the husk,
And fools are all beside. He the pure wine
Alone has drunk, who, by remembering God,
Has all things else in both worlds clean forgot.

In conformity with such sentiments as these, Sadi built for himself, in his declining years, a hermitage near the walls of Shiraz; and here he lived absorbed in religious meditation. He received both visits and gifts from persons of exalted rank, but after appropriating to himself what was necessary to a bare subsistence, he distributed the rest to the poor. He is said to have lived to the age of 116, and to have been buried on the spot where his last days were spent. His tomb is still pointed out to travelers.

Art. V.—REV. EGERTON RYERSON, D.D., LL.D.

1. Educational Reports; 2. Letters to Foreign Ecclesiastics; 3. Letters to the Hon. George Brown; 4 Civil Government—A Discourse; 5. First Lessons in Agriculture; 6. Christian Morals; 7. The Loyalists of America and Their Times. Vols. I, II.

It was at the Methodist Conference in Canada, held at Saltfleet, or Fifty-Mile Creek, in 1825, that Egerton Ryerson was received on trial into the Methodist ministry. It is a somewhat singular coincidence that at the said Conference six were received on trial, six others remained on trial, and six more were received into full connection. The total number of the members of Conference, including the above, was thirty-three. Of this number Dr. Ryerson was the last survivor, and he now has also passed on before.

Of those admitted on trial, two besides Mr. Ryerson became men of more than ordinary celebrity: James Richardson, afterward Dr. Richardson, Bishop of the Episcopal Methodist Church in Canada, and Anson Green, afterward Dr. Green, who was three times president of Conference, and for many years book steward, and was often sent as representative to other ecclesiastical gatherings; he was a constant associate with Dr. Ryerson. They spent the evening of their lives together, and often walked to the house of God in company. When Dr. Ryerson preached the funeral sermon for his friend Green, he said that he "now felt lonely in the world, as he had outlived all the companions of his youth and the friends of his riper years." But

after three more years he, too, has been called to his final rest in heaven. The event took place on Sunday, February 19, 1882, in the city of Toronto, Ontario, on which day one of the most distinguished men that was ever connected with Methodism in Canada passed away. His age was 79. He had been connected with all the doings of the Church, and had taken part in many of the stirring events that had occurred in the country.

Dr. Ryerson belonged to a family in which there were six sons, five of whom became ministers in the Methodist Church: one traveled only a few years; another, on being sent as a delegate to England, became a follower of the late Edward Irving, and is now, though more than ninety years of age, "the angel of the Apostolic Church" in Toronto. Of the others, William was for many years the most popular preacher in Canada. It is the opinion of some that at no period in the history of Methodism in Canada has there ever been one to excel him for pulpit oratory. To see him at a quarterly meeting in the olden time, or at a camp-meeting, was a sight never to be forgotten. Dr. John Carroll says: "We can remember masses of people being moved by his word, like forest trees swayed to and fro by the wind." A public controversy was held on "the Clergy Reserve Question and Voluntaryism," in which Mr. W. Ryerson and several others took part. The late Bishop Cronyn declared that "Mr. Ryerson's sarcasm was unequaled by all that he had ever heard, and that it was worth the journey from London to Simcoe to hear it." For several years he was presiding elder, on two occasions was president of Conference, and was occasionally chosen as representative to the General Conference.

John, the elder brother of Egerton, was a great ecclesiastical leader. He was a shrewd man, and at an early period of his ministry he was appointed by the venerable Bishop Hedding to the office of presiding elder. An amusing incident occurred in connection with this appointment. The ordination class was being examined, and one of the members, having heard of the Bishop's design, was asked by Mr. Ryerson, "Brother Black, who was Polycarp?" "Polycarp, Polycarp, your reverence? I think I have heard that he was presiding elder of Smyrna." The poor examiner, though usually one of the

gravest of men, was unable to suppress his smiles, while the rest of the company was thrown into convulsive laughter. The class, of course, greatly enjoyed the wit of their brother, and passed through the remainder of the ordeal successfully. As a preacher, Mr. John Ryerson excelled in beauty of thought and chasteness of diction. He was truly apostolic, as he always used "sound speech that could not be condemned." He was, also, often intrusted with important duties which required more than ordinary tact and skill to perform. He filled the presidential chair with great dignity. He was several times sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to the Wesleyan Conference, England. He was, also, a member of the Evangelical Alliance which met in London in 1846. He was associated with Dr. Green on that important occasion, at which they were the representatives of Methodism in Canada.

But we must return from this digression. Egerton Ryerson, like most of great men, was much indebted to his mother, who was a strong-minded woman and exerted great influence for good in her family. He was converted in the eighteenth year of his age, and joined the Methodist Church, as his elder brothers had done. His father disapproved of his doing so, as he intended him to follow the profession of law, and, in a fit of anger, he commanded him to "either give up the Methodists or leave home." His brother George had established a grammar school near London. Egerton went thither, and for two years acted as usher in his brother's school, and at the same time pursued the study of classics.

From early life he was an earnest student, and as the country did not afford many educational facilities he made up for the lack by intense application. His father called him home; he obeyed the mandate, and for some time was engaged with the duties of the farm, but he often rose at three o'clock in the morning that he might study a few hours before commencing his daily labor.

In those days it was customary for the minister to call upon some one to exhort after the sermon. Soon after his conversion, Egerton Ryerson was summoned to this duty. The poor young man obeyed, but he was so timid that he broke down, and, as a consequence, was very sad and discouraged, but he

was assured that this was no ill augury. Through life he was always tremulous as he began his discourses, but there is no mention of his ever breaking down after the first effort. He became a most fluent speaker, and was always popular, though, as he never wrote any thing for the pulpit before preaching, he was at times too diffuse, though always impressive and often eloquent. He invariably commanded large congregations, and was soon in great demand.

In the year 1825 his brother William's health failed, which was the occasion of his being sent to supply the vacancy thus created. Egerton took for his first text the words, "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Psa. cxxvi, 6. A passage prospective of his future success. There were many discouragements in his path, but he persevered, believing that he was where God intended him to be. For eleven years he performed the duties of circuit preacher. Some of his circuits embraced several townships, but he had put his hand to the plow and never looked back. He had his share of the hardships and privations peculiar to the pioneer work of those early days. A lady states that she remembers that when he lodged at her father's house, in one of his early circuits, he was accustomed to gather a heap of pine-knots, by the light of which he pursued his studies in the morning before the household were awake.

Elder Case, "the father of Indian missions in Canada," made choice of him for the Indian work, as he was an adept in the study of languages, and was one of the best educated young men in the Connection. He remained only one year in the Indian work, but through life he was accustomed to speak of this appointment with no small degree of pleasure, as he enjoyed more quiet and real happiness and contentment than was his lot in city appointments and positions of greater emoluments. He labored with his usual zeal and diligence, and set the Indians an example of labor in the field, clearing and plowing the land. He kept up all the religious services, and studied hard to make himself familiar with the language of the people. A new church was also erected on the Indian reserve, largely through his instrumentality. More important fields of labor demanded his services, or else he would doubtless

have spent many years among the aborigines. During those years he was four times elected Secretary of Conference.

Egerton Ryerson next appears as editor of the "Christian Guardian." This was in 1829. The Canada Conference was separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1828, and now it was deemed necessary to have a connectional organ, and a capital of $2,000 was created, mostly by the preachers taking shares of $20 each. Mr. Ryerson wrote the first editorial, and when the journal had attained its jubilee, he wrote a suitable article detailing many reminiscences respecting its career. He was comparatively young when he ascended the tripod, but he wielded a vigorous pen, and during the years he was connectional editor he wrote many powerful articles which were of immense value to the Methodist Church, and greatly aided the cause of civil freedom in the country.

During the first year of his probation, when only 23 years of age, he was unexpectedly drawn into controversy with Archdeacon Strachan, who afterward became the first Bishop of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada. That gentleman, with a view to secure increased aid from England on behalf of his Church in Canada, had published a gloomy account of the condition of the morals of the country, and greatly misrepresented other denominations, but especially the Methodists. Mr. Ryerson and his superintendent were accustomed to meet once a month with a few friends in a social gathering. At one of these social meetings the "diatribe" of the archdeacon was read, when all present thought that an answer should be prepared immediately. It was agreed that the two preachers should each prepare something against their next meeting, and out of what they should write something might be compiled that would be deemed suitable. When the next monthly meeting was held, the junior preacher only had complied with the request of the previous meeting. He read his paper, and the meeting demanded that it should be forthwith published. The author protested, but he was overruled and the essay was issued in pamphlet form, signed, "By a Methodist Preacher."

A wonderful sensation was produced by this little *brochure*. No previous publication had ever defended the Methodists of Canada, and nobody had presumed to question the arrogant

claims of the Established Church. In the course of a fortnight, four answers were published, three by clergymen of the Church of England, and one by a layman. All were full of bitterness. For a year the controversy thus begun was continued, during which the public mind was greatly excited. Public meetings were held in various places, and petitions were sent to the Legislature demanding that an investigation should be made as to the allegations respecting the effects produced by the teachings of the Methodist preachers, who were said to be "preaching the Gospel out of idleness," they were "uneducated and preached without any preparation," and above all, the Imperial Parliament must come to the rescue, as "republican principles will be instilled in the minds of the people by the religious teachers who come almost universally from the republican States of America." "The Methodist Preacher" denied this last allegation, for "out of the whole body of Methodist itinerant preachers there are only eight who have not been *born and educated in the British dominions.* And of those eight, all except two have become naturalized British subjects, according to the statute of the province." The other allegations were answered in an equally clear and conclusive manner.

The controversy on the Clergy Reserve Question was now fairly inaugurated. One seventh portion of the public lands had been set apart for the maintenance of "the Protestant clergy, and the Anglican clergy claimed that they were the Protestant clergy," of whom there were then fifty-three in the British Colony of Canada, for whose special benefit nearly ten thousand pounds sterling were appropriated by the British Parliament, and the Propagation Society for the support of the Church of England in Canada; and yet a piteous outcry was made for more money to save the Church of England from being swallowed up by "sectaries," and the country from becoming "republican." All this while the Methodist ministers were not only denied the right of solemnizing matrimony, but the Methodist people were without a law to enable them to hold a foot of land on which to erect a place of worship or in which to bury their dead.

A Parliamentary Committee was appointed, which not only took into consideration the allegations previously named, but also "a Letter and Chart which had been sent to the Imperial

Parliament to procure additional grants for the support of the Church of England in Canada and a charter for a university." Fifty-two witnesses were examined; among whom were ministers of various denominations, members of Parliament, and private citizens. The committee of "the House," after a careful examination made their report, on which an address was drafted to the King of England which makes respectful mention of the "Methodist preachers." "The tendency of their influence and instruction is not hostile to our institutions, but, on the contrary, is eminently favorable to religion and morality; their labors are calculated to make their people better men and better subjects, and have already produced in this Province the happiest effects."

One benefit which resulted from this controversy was that "the House" of Legislature passed an Act allowing all Christian denominations to hold land for public purposes. Land could now be conveyed to trustees for a congregation, not exceeding five acres for the site of a church, meeting-house, or chapel, or burying-ground. For this benefit the Methodist Church is largely indebted to Egerton Ryerson.

The controversy on the "Clergy Reserve Question" was continued for many years, and called forth numerous combatants, but it was acknowledged that none wielded a more vigorous pen than Egerton Ryerson, "the Methodist Preacher." The question was finally set at rest, and though the finale might not be in every respect such as he and those associated with him desired, still, all denominations now enjoy equal rights and privileges. Since 1831 the Methodists have been allowed to perform the marriage ceremony, and for many years the ministers were accustomed to appropriate the fees thus received to the funds of Upper Canada Academy.

Canada owes a debt of gratitude to the United States for planting Methodism in the country. For many years, at great personal sacrifices, its ministers followed the hardy settler to his humble home. When missionaries were sent out by the Wesleyan Missionary Society it soon became manifest that two bodies of ministers preaching the same doctrines could not work harmoniously together. To avoid such an undesirable state of things, the late Rev. John Emory, afterward Bishop Emory, was sent to the English Conference in 1820 to effect

such a settlement of matters as might prevent collision and strife. It was agreed that Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, should be wholly given to the English Wesleyans, and Upper Canada be left to the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For some years this plan worked admirably, but, by misrepresentations sent to England, the arrangement thus entered into was broken, and soon after the Church in Canada was declared to be independent of that in the United States. Missionaries were again sent out from England, and churches were erected in opposition to each other. Methodism in Canada again presented a divided condition, but, mainly through the influence of Egerton Ryerson, a union was effected between the Wesleyan Conference in England and the Conference in Canada.

When the said union was effected it was stipulated that the name of the Church should be "Wesleyan Methodist," instead of "Methodist Episcopal." Instead of "Bishops," Presidents of Conference were to be elected annually. "Chairmen of Districts" were to be no longer designated "Presiding Elders," and local preachers were not to be ordained, and were thus denuded of all ministerial functions in respect to administering the ordinances and performing the ceremony of marriage. Some dissented from the terms of the agreement with the British Conference, and indeed they claimed to be the original Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and contended that the unionists had by their own act given up all their Church property, which was now claimed by the dissentients. Several cases of litigation respecting Churches took place. Able counsel was employed by both parties, but it devolved mainly on the Rev. Egerton Ryerson to supply the counsel for the Wesleyan body with the necessary information. To acquire this he traveled thousands of miles and procured testimony from witnesses who could not attend the various trials. The great question on which the dissentients mainly rested their case was, that the Church had no right to change its form of government from that of Episcopacy to an annual presidency; but Dr. Fisk and others declared that "Episcopacy" is not a doctrine or matter of faith—it is not *essential* to the existence of a Gospel Church, but it is founded on expediency, and may be desirable and proper in some circumstances of the

Church and not in others. Only in one case were the Wesleyans defeated, which decision was reversed by a higher court; they, therefore, held all the Church property, and the Episcopal Methodists went on in their own course, and it must be admitted that, considering all the circumstances in which they have been placed, their success has been marvelous. A better state of feeling now obtains between the two bodies, and they hold fraternal relations with each other. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States regards both bodies as its legitimate offspring.

The union between the English and Canadian Conferences so happily consummated in 1833 was dissolved in 1840, but was again effected in 1847. These were years of agitation and uneasiness, arising mainly from the different views held by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England and the Methodist Church in Canada. The former were generally conservative in their views, and greatly in sympathy with the Established Church of England. This was well known to the High-Church party in Canada, which was resolved by all means to retain the "Clergy Reserve" lands for religious purposes. Dr. Ryerson, as editor of the "Christian Guardian" during some of those years, resolutely fought against this view, and in so doing he was sustained by a majority of the Methodist ministers and people in Canada.

The Wesleyan Missionary Committee and the Wesleyan Conference resolved that the editor should abstain from discussing questions of a political character, but the editor had fought too long for civil and religious liberty to act otherwise than as he had hitherto done. Happily a delegation went to England in 1847, and, after mutual explanations, the union between the Conferences was renewed, to the delight of the majority on both sides. Dr. Bunting, who for many years was the most influential man in the Wesleyan Conference, acknowledged, at the period of the re-union, that they (the English) had been mistaken respecting their brethren in Canada, who understood their position and duty on public questions better than their English brethren. The union thereafter worked very harmoniously until 1874, when it was dissolved by mutual consent, and the present Methodist Church of Canada was organized by the amalgamation of the Wesleyan Con-

ferences in Canada and Eastern British America, and the Methodist New Connection Conference, which were again divided into six Annual Conferences, with one General Conference to meet once in four years. The first president of the General Conference was Dr. Ryerson, who had now become venerable in years, and received this appointment as a mark of approval of the course which he had pursued during the eventful years in which he had so nobly defended the Church of his youth against all assailants.

The history of Methodism throughout the world has always been closely allied with the cause of education. Its founder was one of the best educated men in his day. No wonder, therefore, that the sons of John Wesley should always be the advocates of educational institutions. As early as 1830 the Methodists of Canada took steps to have an institution of their own to be known as Upper Canada Academy, for the higher education of the youth of both sexes. In this noble enterprise Mr. Ryerson was an active agent. The corner-stone was laid in 1832, and the building was completed and the institution commenced operations in 1835. Mr. Ryerson went to England and secured liberal aid for the academy, and when, in 1841, it was deemed advisable to change the institution into a college with university powers and the name of the Queen of England, as its designation, he was appointed its first principal.

On this occasion the Middletown (Conn.) University conferred upon him the degree of D.D. Thenceforth Dr. Ryerson was known as an educator, and under his wise guidance some who were under his care reached great influence in their various professions. The university, of which he was the head for three years, has sent out about 1,500 graduates, and it is worthy of remark that one of Dr. Ryerson's pupils, the Rev. Dr. Nelles, has for the space of more than a quarter of a century occupied the position which his revered tutor so nobly filled. Another of Dr. Ryerson's pupils, the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, is Presbyterian minister in New York; while a third, Dr. Hodgins, has for many years been Deputy Superintendent of Education in the Province of Ontario. Dr. Ryerson has always taken the deepest interest in Victoria University, and both by his advocacy and pecuniary aid, he has labored to the utmost of his power to promote its welfare. Since his death

it has been resolved to endow a chair of "Mental and Moral Philosophy," to be called "The Ryerson Chair." Efforts are being made to raise the sum of $35,000. Such an object will be a noble monument to the memory of the first principal of the university.

During the years in which there was great agitation in Canada on the subject of university reform, the object of which was to secure a share of the public moneys set apart for the purposes of higher education to be equally distributed among all denominational colleges, in proportion to the work done by each, Dr. Ryerson was again in the field of conflict, and was ever ready to take part in the hottest fight. He assisted at conventions, addressed public meetings, went before Parliamentary Committees, and also published pamphlets in advocacy of the liberal views held by himself and his friends. In 1860, when a committee of the legislature sat on the subject of university reform, the address of Dr. Ryerson was one of the most powerful that was ever delivered on such an occasion, and created such a sensation that all the corridors leading to the committee-room were crowded by members of Parliament. Several who did not agree with the sentiments which he enunciated were, nevertheless, captivated by his eloquence. His speech was partly in reply to statements made by gentlemen connected with another university, which was enjoying a liberal endowment from public funds. Space forbids, or we would make some extracts from this memorable speech.

The Hon. Senator Ferrier, of Montreal, when referring to this occasion, said: "Dr. Ryerson spoke with more than his usual ability and clearness for two hours and forty minutes the first day, and for one hour and forty-five minutes the second day, producing the deepest conviction on the minds of those who heard him of the correctness of his position. So overwhelming was the influence of his address, that one honorable member of the Upper House of Legislature, a pillar of the Church of England, came to me and said, 'I wish he belonged to our Church.' Another member of the Legislature expressed his feelings by saying, 'My! what a good bishop he would make.'"

Some men who have been elevated to influential positions have not been slow to use their influence in favor of friends.

The most virulent opponent with whom Dr. Ryerson ever contended could never charge him with acts of this kind. It is not known that he ever sought an office for a relative in his life. Positions of great influence were placed at his disposal, but he always preferred to dwell among his own people. At one time he might have been Vice-Chancellor of Toronto University; at another time a noble lord in England offered him a lucrative situation under the English Government; and when but a young man he was more than once approached with overtures to enter the Anglican Church. He never sought for emoluments; the love of money was not a sin of which he was guilty. To do good, and to labor for the welfare of his country, was the highest ambition of his life.

It is not the design of this paper to place Dr. Ryerson before our readers in any other than his true position. There were acts in his life which occasioned his friends some uneasiness, and no doubt some felt themselves unable to defend his course, but all gave him credit for sincerity in what he did. He was no time-server, but always pursued the even tenor of his way, acting, as he believed he was doing, for the best interests of his country. When he undertook to defend Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor-General, for some high-handed measures, he brought upon himself the indignation of many who had been his intimate friends; but as he never courted favor or reward for his public acts, neither did he ever seek to merely do such things as would be pleasing to his friends. Some of his acts might appear very strange when compared with the course he had pursued in former years, but he always argued that posterity would approve his acts, and, whether or not, he had endeavored to do right. There was nothing vindictive in his nature, nor was he ever actuated by fear in his actions; though often a counselor of public men, he was never afraid to attack their policy and plead for those whom he thought to have been injured. The course which he pursued toward some who had been implicated in the M'Kenzie Rebellion of 1837 will illustrate this. The discourse, "Civil Government," named at the head of this article, was preached at this time. He was a far-seeing man, and as he was guided by principle in all things he was often at variance with some with whom he would gladly have labored in harmony.

The monument of Dr. Ryerson is the public-school system of Ontario. From 1844 to 1876 he occupied the position of Chief Superintendent of Education. During those years he was unremitting in his exertions to perfect the school system. For several years his labors were Herculean. He made extensive tours in various countries, that he might become acquainted with the systems of education which prevailed there. The result was, that he drafted a bill which, by various amendments and revisions that were added during the years of his administration, became the school law of the country. Its chief features are "compulsory attendance of children, local assessment, government aid, thorough inspection, complete equipment, graded examinations, and separate schools."*

This system became so complete under his molding hand that it has been universally admired. Distinguished educationalists have pronounced it the most complete they have ever seen, and not a few Ministers of the Crown in the Colonies of Great Britain, when drafting educational bills, have borrowed largely from the system which owes its existence to Dr. Ryerson. During the years that he sustained the important office of Chief Superintendent he was under the necessity of writing much. Happily he always wielded a ready pen, and one who knew him well told the writer that it was always a marvel to the clerks in the educational establishment how the chief could do such an amount of desk work. Night and day, when he had important matters to engross his attention, he would plod through piles of papers, until more than once his health was in peril. He was the author of about sixty different volumes and pamphlets, the titles of which are given in the "Bibliotheca Canadensis." Some were intended for school books, as the "First Lessons in Agriculture," and "Christian Morals," and others were the annual reports of the public schools.

He was not in favor of "separate schools," but when they were granted by the Legislature, to satisfy the Roman Catholic portion of the community, he was in duty bound to see that

* Since the death of Dr. Ryerson it has been determined to erect a bronze statue in the grounds of the Normal School, to defray the expense of which a subscription has been commenced among the teachers and scholars of the public schools, to which Archbishop Lynch (Roman Catholic) not only gave his approval, but also gave his own personal subscription toward perpetuating the memory of a worthy man.

the provisions of the "School Act" were faithfully carried out. In the discharge of his duty he sometimes found himself in collision with the dignitaries of the Romish Church, but he was not afraid, when necessity was laid upon him, to measure swords even with an archbishop. A pamphlet now lies before us, and is also mentioned at the head of this article, which contains a correspondence entitled: "Dr. Ryerson's Letters in Reply to the Attacks of Foreign Ecclesiastics Against the Schools of Upper Canada, Including the Letters of Bishop Charbonnel, Mr. Bruyere, and Bishop Pinsoneault." Those attacks make an octavo pamphlet of 104 pages, and are characterized, on the one hand, by deep duplicity, insinuations, misrepresentations, and a determination at all hazards to secure the control of the education of Roman Catholic children by the Church without making reports to the government; and on the other hand, the letters are characterized by that cogency of reasoning, incisive argument, and clear, terse language which distinguishes all Dr. Ryerson's writings.

During the same period, Dr. Ryerson addressed a series of letters to a leading politician, who was at one time a great power in the land. The doctor was of the opinion, right or otherwise, that the said gentleman was becoming allied to those who were resolved to break up the school system of Ontario. Their object professedly was to reform existing abuses, but, as he conceived, it was neither more nor less than to adopt measures whereby "more power to the pope" would be the result. He felt it to be an imperative duty to buckle on his armor and go forth to meet the Goliath who once was a strong advocate of Protestantism. No controversial letters that have come in our way are at all equal to those now under consideration. They are not surpassed even by those of "Junius."

While the controversy between Dr. Ryerson and his honorable opponent was in progress, some of the doctor's friends believed that it was probable the honorable gentleman's political party would soon be at the helm of affairs in Ontario, and they were anxious, therefore, that he should not so far commit himself that, even should such an event occur, he would be likely to be removed from his office as Chief Superintendent. It was well known that at the time of his appointment there

were those of the High-Church party who were greatly indignant that a "Methodist Preacher" should be elevated to such an honorable position in the land; but Dr. Ryerson was never in the least alarmed about the consequences resulting from his course of action. He said to the writer, when conversing on the subject, "They may do as they like," and in his concluding letter to the honorable gentleman he thus refers to the supposition:

It is possible, sir, that you may attain the object of your political ambition, when, as a Minister of the Crown, you will doubtless endeavor to carry your threats against me into execution. It is possible, in the mysteries of Providence, and the freaks of unsuspecting credulity, that you may yet be able to undo and trample to dust the work I have been endeavoring to construct and build up, and that you may be able to avenge yourself upon me by reducing my family and myself to poverty; but as I have never indulged the desire for wealth, so I do not fear poverty. Your threats of loss of salary and office do not, therefore, terrify or disturb me. I have confidence in the justice of my native country, which I have endeavored to serve from my youth, that it will not leave me a prey to your machinations in old age. But be that as it may, though you may reduce me to want, you cannot make me a slave; though you may cause me to die a very poor man, you cannot prevent me from dying a *free man*, or from defending, as long as I am able, the right of individual choice in regard to schools and religious instruction on the part of both Protestants and Roman Catholics, the rights of school electors, of trustees, and of municipalities against the subversive attempts of Mr. ——— and yourself.

In 1876 Dr. Ryerson resigned his position as Chief Superintendent of Education, and spent the evening of his days in comparative quiet, though he did not cease to take a lively interest in all public affairs. The government dealt with him most generously by continuing his full salary of $4,000 until his death, and on his demise awarded a gratuity of $10,000 to his widow. Such a magnanimous act entitles them to the grateful remembrance of all classes of the community. He wrote a series of Essays on "The Epochs and Characteristics of Methodism in Canada," which were published in the "Methodist Magazine," and have now been collected and embodied in one volume. They are a full repertory of facts and incidents, which will be of immense value to the future historian of Methodism.

Dr. Ryerson also, in his later years, completed his "History of the Loyalists of America and Their Times," which was published by the Methodist Book Room in Toronto, in two handsome large volumes, which will be perused with pleasure by all who take an interest in the history of their country, and especially of that important class who made such immense sacrifices and endured such great sufferings on behalf of the empire. They were truly heroes, and the author, who was himself a son of one who took part in the scenes of the American Revolution, was, therefore, familiar with the narrative of their hardships, as they made themselves homes in the wilderness of Canada. He was justly proud of his ancestry, and was never weary of rehearsing the incidents connected with their eventful history.

It is more than probable that some of our readers may not agree with some things which they will find in the author's history, as, for instance, the manner in which he speaks of the Puritans, who claimed the most "ardent attachment to their 'dear mother,' the Church of England, and yet had not been long on this side the Atlantic before they not merely adopted Congregationalism, which they had a perfect right to do, but commenced a violent persecution upon Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. It was made an offense to use the 'Book of Common Prayer,' even in private families. Roger Williams and his fellow Baptists were driven out into the wilderness, and found a refuge in Rhode Island. Banishment, fines, imprisonments, and confiscations were the normal weapons of these apostles of liberty. . . . Truly, the history of New England Puritanism is not edifying."

Many of the descendants of the loyalists became valuable citizens of Canada, and not a few of them to-day occupy important positions in their native land. They are to be found in all the professions, and, in connection with their fathers, have taken an active part in the affairs of the country, and are justly proud of the noble position which it now occupies among the nations of the earth. In preparing this historical work Dr. Ryerson spared neither expense nor labor that he might make it as complete as possible. For this purpose he crossed the Atlantic and spent several months in London, that he might avail himself of the rich treasures of literature to be

found in the British Museum. His style is always vigorous and perspicuous, and while he never forgets that he is the narrator of events, he always takes care to express his own opinion on all the matters which come before him.

While Dr. Ryerson loved his country, he never forgot the Church of his youth. No matter what might be the perplexities of his office, he was always in his place in the sanctuary on the Lord's Day, and his pastor, the Rev. John Potts, D.D., testifies, "that there was no more sympathetic hearer in the Metropolitan Church than he was." As long as he was able he went to and fro preaching the Gospel, and it is computed that he preached not less than 10,000 sermons, and no matter how much his journeys might cost him, when doing Church-work for more than thirty years past he did not even charge his traveling expenses. The Church honored him by assigning him to posts of honor and responsibility, and allowed him to be chief superintendent of education, though he always declared that he was ready at any moment to obey the call of his brethren and return to circuit work.

Dr. Ryerson was a many-sided man. He was truly progressive. On the question of class-meetings some thought him to be a little erratic, and when he introduced his resolutions to the Conference, several years ago, on this subject, there was considerable commotion, and some of his brethren in the ministry took strong ground against him. There were others, however, and the writer claims to be of the number, who were of opinion that the doctor did not receive the fair play at that time to which he was justly entitled. Those who wrote and spoke against him assumed that he was desirous to do away with class-meetings altogether, whereas he merely desired that attendance at class-meeting should not be a test of membership, but that it should be a prudential means of grace; and it is a remarkable fact that, as time advances, a vast number of "the people called Methodists," as well as the ministers, are beginning to be of the same opinion. We do not see any necessity why class-meetings should not be continued in the Church; they should be held every-where; but appearances in all branches of the Methodist family seem to indicate that attendance on class-meeting will soon cease to be a test of membership. The Lord's Supper is a script-

ural ordinance instituted by Christ, and why should attendance on this ordinance not be the test of membership in all Churches?

Dr. Ryerson was a great man, and yet he was as humble as a child; he was beautiful in his simplicity. At the Conference love-feasts he always spoke with deep emotion, and as he advanced in years he ripened for heaven. Four years before he died he wrote the following sentences, which were found after his decease:

March 24, 1878.

I am this day seventy-five years of age, and this day fifty-three years, after resisting many solicitations to enter the ministry, and after long and painful struggles, I decided to devote my life and all to the ministry of the Methodist Church. The predominant feeling of my heart is that of gratitude and humiliation—gratitude for God's unbounded mercy, patience, and compassion, in the bestowment of almost uninterrupted health and innumerable personal, domestic, and social blessings, for more than fifty years of a public life of great labor and many dangers; and humiliation under a deep-felt consciousness of personal unfaithfulness, of many defects, errors, and neglects in public duties. Many tell me that I have been useful to the Church and to the country, but my own consciousness tells me that I have learned little, experienced little, done little in comparison of what I might and ought to have known and done. By the grace of God I am spared; by his grace I am what I am; all my trust for salvation is in the efficacy of Jesus' atoning blood. "*I know whom I have trusted*," and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have no melancholy feelings or fears. The *joy* of the Lord is my strength. I feel that I am now on the *bright* side of seventy-five. As the evening twilight of my earthly life advances, my spiritual sun shines with increasing splendor. This has been my experience for the last year. With an increased sense of my own sinfulness, unworthiness, and helplessness, I have an increased sense of the blessedness of pardon, the indwelling of the Comforter, and the communion of saints.

Here, upon bended knee, I give myself and all I have and am afresh to Him whom I serve, but very imperfectly, for more than threescore years. All helpless myself, I most humbly and devoutly pray that Divine strength may be perfected in my weakness, and that my last days on earth may be my best days—best days of implicit faith and unreserved consecration, best days of simple, scriptural ministrations and public usefulness, best days of change from glory to glory, and of becoming meet for the inheritance of the saints in light, until my Lord shall dismiss me from the service of warfare and the weariness of toil to the glories of victory and the repose of *rest*. E. Ryerson.

His death was eminently peaceful. For about three months his health had been precarious. The strong man was bowing himself. But he was not afraid. The sting of death was taken away. Due preparations had been made for this event; hence he met the last enemy with the most perfect composure. Until a few hours before he passed away he was perfectly conscious, and often conversed with his friends. He frequently repeated his favorite hymn, "Rock of Ages, cleft for me," etc. On Sunday morning, February 19, 1882, at about seven o'clock, his spirit went home to God. The intelligence of his death was communicated to the various congregations of the Churches in Toronto, and on Monday the daily journals had lengthy articles respecting his busy life and happy death. Among the earliest messages of condolence received by his widow was one from his Excellency, the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Lorne, who greatly esteemed him. At the time of the last visit of his Excellency to Toronto he spent an hour in Dr. Ryerson's sick-chamber.

The funeral was probably the largest ever seen in the chief city of Ontario. Most of the places of business were closed, and the House of Assembly did not hold its usual afternoon sitting, but all the members attended the funeral. In the procession, which was of immense length, we observed his Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, J. B. Robinson, Esq.; Sir W. H. Howland, G. S. Gyowski, A.D.C. to the Queen; the Professors of the University College, Trinity College, and St. Basil's College; the Anglican Bishop and Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto; the Protestant ministers of the city, and hundreds of Methodist ministers. Next to the chief mourners in the procession were Principal Nelles and the Faculty and Senate of Victoria University, and a deputation of students representing the various classes in arts, theology, law, and medicine. The boys of the Ryerson, Dufferin, and Wellesley schools occupied the rear of the procession.

Religious services were conducted at the house and at the Metropolitan Church, which was crowded to overflowing, by the Rev. S. G. Laird, President of Toronto Conference, R. Jones, G. Cochrane, D.D., Chairman of Toronto District; Dr. Rose, Dr. Sanderson, W. Scott, and E. A. Telfer. Dr. Douglas, the President of the General Conference, was unable to

reach the city. The funeral oration was delivered by the Rev. John Potts, D.D., pastor to the deceased. The choir sung the anthem, "Brother, thou art gone before us." The closing hymn, "Rock of ages, cleft for me," was sung with such solemnity and pathos that the vast audience was deeply affected and many wept aloud. Of the many floral tributes on his coffin one of the most beautiful was a crown from the pupils of the school which bears his honored name—Ryerson. His happy end was symbolized by another—a cluster of wheat and a floral sickle, for, like a sheaf fully ripe he was gathered to the harvest of the skies. The sable drapery of the church, the solemn music, the touching prayers, and the beautiful, appropriate address, and the deep emotion of the vast audience, produced a service which will never be forgotten.

Funeral sermons were preached on the following Sabbath by the Rev. Drs. Nelles and Potts, when the church was again crowded to overflowing. Truly,

> The memory of the just
> Smells sweet, and blossoms in the dust.

The venerable Doctor Ryerson was seventy-nine years of age when he died, and

> He was a man, taking him all for all,
> We shall not look upon his like again.

Among the many articles which were published at the time of Dr. Ryerson's death none were more appropriate than the following by the writer's esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Withrow, editor of the "Canadian Methodist Magazine:"

Dr. Ryerson was one of the most lovable men we ever knew. Few men grow old so gracefully as he. He had been, we may say, a man of war from his youth, and was the hero of many a hard-fought fight, yet he was without a particle of bitterness or guile. Some of his foes became some of his best friends—for instance, the late Bishop Strachan. He was fond of telling to youthful listeners stories of his youth, and by the young who knew him he was greatly revered and beloved. To the last he retained his sympathy with the young. No one could feel his lingering shake-hands without perceiving how much heart there was in it. We never knew a man so simple in his greatness, so generous in recognition of merit in others, so tender in the bestowment of sympathy, so wise in the giving of counsel. Above all, he was the simple, earnest, cheerful, sunny-minded Christian. We have often heard him say that not when receiving the high-

est dignities and honors that were conferred upon him has he experienced such rich enjoyments as in preaching the Gospel to the Indians, or to the scattered settlers of the backwoods. While enjoying life to the full with a genial hilarity of spirit that never could grow old, the thought of death was a familiar and not an unwelcome one. We have often heard him converse calmly and cheerfully of the decease which he must shortly accomplish, and then address himself ardently to the duties of the hour. His religion had nothing ascetic in it. It was a calm, confident, holy trust. When apparently very near his end, he held the hand of the writer long, and spoke of that unfaltering trust. He said he was "simply resting by faith on the atonement."

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for *me*."

Art. VI.—THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

[FIRST PAPER.]

Records of the Past; being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. Twelve volumes. London. 1874–1881.

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Seven volumes. London. 1873–1881.

The History of Herodotus. By GEORGE RAWLINSON. Four volumes. New York. 1880.

The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World. By GEORGE RAWLINSON. Three volumes. New York. 1880.

Lectures upon the Assyrian Language and Syllabary. Babylonian Literature. Assyrian Grammar. By Rev. A. H. Sayce.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis. By GEORGE SMITH. A New Edition, with Additions. New York. 1881.

The Ancient History of the East. By F. LENORMANT. Two volumes. Philadelphia. 1871.

Chaldean Magic: Its Origin and Development. By F. LENORMANT. London. 1877.

An Archaic Dictionary from the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Etruscan Monuments and Papyri. By W. R. Cooper. London. 1876.

Studies on the Times of Abraham. By Rev. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS. London. 1878.

THE discovery of a literature from twenty-five hundred to four thousand years old, which had been buried more than two thousand years in the ruins of the dead cities of Babylonia and Assyria, the recovery of the lost languages in which it is written, and their translation into modern tongues, are remarkable triumphs of nineteenth century scholarship. The geographical position of these mighty empires, the richness of the soil, the size and magnificence of their great cities, the wide-

ness of their sway in the days of their glory, the influence they exerted upon early Eastern thought and in molding and modifying religions and mythologies, the place they fill in Oriental history, and their intimate relations with the chosen people of God—these lend importance to any new discoveries which may be made concerning their early history and the thoughts which moved the hearts of their people. Here was the home of Abraham, "the friend of God," and, in the light of recent Assyrian discoveries, we may now believe that he carried with him in his migration to Canaan the contents of the sacred books of the kingdom of Ur, embracing the earliest traditions of the creation, the fall, the flood, the tower of Babel, and other facts recorded by his descendants, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, in the book of Genesis.

By public and private liberality and enterprise, the literary treasures of these mighty nations have had a resurrection, and Layard, the Rawlinsons, Norris, Hincks, Smith, Sayce, Talbot, Menant, Oppert, Pinches, Houghton, Guyard, Boscawen, Lenormant, Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt, Hommel, and others, have breathed into them the breath of life, and they speak to us to-day and reveal wonderful secrets concerning the political, social, and religious history of many peoples. The language in which this history is written, with its difficult syllabary and strange cuneiform characters, is being slowly yet surely and thoroughly deciphered and interpreted, and already we have grammars, contributions to a dictionary, reading books, texts, commentaries, translations, organized classes, and a "Society of Biblical Archæology" devoted to the recovery of the meaning of hieroglyphic and cuneiform records of Egypt, Assyria, and other Bible lands of the East, several volumes of whose transactions show commendable learning and activity.

The labor of decipherment and interpretation is but fairly in progress. What may be revealed in the future cannot be predicted. We may, however, rely upon present results, and, whatever may be the progress of Assyrian scholarship in the future, it is probable that the main results hitherto determined, as far at least as they have reference to the Assyrian religion, will not be materially changed. It is time to gather from many sources, and put into popular form, valuable material concerning Assyrian gods and religious beliefs and practices.

The Assyrians used a mode of writing borrowed from the Accadians, who spoke a Turanian tongue. To adapt a Turanian hieroglyphic, ideographic, and syllabic alphabet to a Semitic language was found most difficult. That the mode of writing was originally hieroglyphic cannot now be questioned. "The Turanian cuneiform writing, as science has now proved," says Lenormant, "was originally hieroglyphic, that is, composed of pictures of material objects; and these forms can in some cases be reconstructed. An inscription entirely written in these hieroglyphics exists at Susa, as is positively known; but it has not yet been copied, and is therefore unfortunately not available for study."

The Accadians entered Accad from Elam at a period far back in the mists of antiquity. At first they seem to have used papyrus as writing material, but the earliest recovered monuments of their language are written or stamped clay tablets. They were conquered by the less cultured Semites, who appeared in Sumir or Shinar previous to 2000 B.C. These Semites were called Casdim, or "conquerors," (Assyrian, *casidi*,) in the Old Testament. Their language was Babylonian, with which Assyrian is closely allied; their religion resembled that of the authors of the Himyaritic inscriptions.

For some time the Semites dwelt with the Accads on terms of tolerable friendship, in general confining themselves to north-western Chaldea, while the Accads kept nearer the sea. From the latter the Semites borrowed not only their mode of writing, but also much of their religion and many of their arts and sciences. After some centuries the Accads were completely subdued, and their language ceased to be spoken probably not later than 1600 B.C.

The archaic literature has been preserved on clay tablets. After having been stamped with the arrowhead characters, the tablets were baked, and sometimes covered with a clay coating and baked the second time. Upon the removal of the outer coating a double impression of the writing is revealed. The tablets are of all sizes, "from an inch long to over a foot square." They are most frequently found in a fragmentary condition, and the task of restoration is very great. They were arranged according to subjects in libraries, and titles stamped upon them, and were carefully catalogued.

In the royal library of Nineveh there were more than ten thousand volumes or tablets.

The first library of Chaldea, according to Berosus, was established in the antediluvian Pantibiblia, the capital under Amelon, the third fabulous king. Sisuthrus, the Chaldean Noah, by command of Kronos buried his books at Sippara to be recovered after the deluge. The library of Erech, to which belonged the epic of Izdubar and the story of the flood, was the most ancient of which we possess any positive knowledge. The library of Cutha gave a legend of the creation and war of the giants; that of Larsa or Senkereh has yielded a number of mathematical tablets. Sargon I., ("the genuine rightful king,") who bore the title "king of justice," (cf. *Melchizedek.*) was a noble patron of learning, 2900 B.C. He conquered the whole of Babylonia, and established his capital at Aganè. Here he founded a great library celebrated for its works on astronomy and astrology, one of which consisted of no less than seventy-two books. Berosus seems to have translated it into Greek. There was another important library at Calah. The royal library at Nineveh, belonging to Assurbanipal, which has yielded most of the rich literary treasures now being deciphered in the British Museum, was the most celebrated. Assurbanipal encouraged the study of the dead Accadian language, and caused grammars and dictionaries to be compiled and translations to be made. It has been remarked that the Assyrians anticipated the Hamiltonian method of teaching languages by many centuries. Copies of the works to be found in the library at Aganè were made and distributed among the libraries of Assyria. During the period of great literary activity many new works were also produced.

This royal library was most thoroughly organized, and must have been extensively patronized. We have even recovered some of the rules of the librarian. Chiefly through the labors of Mr. George Smith these tablets were unpacked, examined, ticketed, and pieced together. "Historical and mythological documents, religious records, legal, geographical, astronomical and astrological treatises; poetical compositions, grammatical and lexical disquisitions, lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, copies of treatises, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, and of royal proclama-

such were the chief contents of this strange old library. The larger portion of the religious and poetical works were translations from Accadian, the original text being generally given side by side with the Assyrian rendering." *

The library at Babylon may have been founded by Khammuragas, the first of the Kossaean kings, who overthrew the Sargon dynasty. Sennacherib carried most of its contents to Assyria when he took the city, 695 B.C. Assyriologists have awaited with great interest literary discoveries in Babylonia, the home of Assyrian art, science, and religion. They have not been disappointed. In his expedition of 1880–81, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam recovered records and copies of religious texts from the ruins of temples and palaces of Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha. The records found in Jumjuma in 1874 prove this mound to be the site of the great commercial exchange of Babylon.

"These tablets show that for a long period, probably several centuries, the family of the Beni Egibi were the leading commercial firm of Babylon, and to them was confided all the business of the Babylonian Ministry of Finance. The building, whose ruins are marked by the mound of Jumjuma, was the *chancellerie* of the firm, and from its ruins come the records of every class of monetary transactions. The documents being all most carefully dated and compiled, are of great value to the chronologist and histo rian; while to the student of Babylonian civilization they are of the highest importance. From the tax receipts we learn how the revenue was raised by duties levied on land, on crops of dates and corn, on cattle, by imposts for the use of the irrigation canals and the use of the public roads. The insight into the component elements of social life, ranging from the king and princes, the priests and soldiers, down to the lowest peasant and slave, is such as is hardly afforded by the records of any other nation. By the aid of these records we can almost picture the motley crowds of citizens and countrymen who gathered in the court-yard of the great Babylonian bankers. Then, as now, in the same land, the tax-gatherer was an extortionist; and many a petition was lodged against his claims." †

* "Babylonian Literature," p. 16.

† The London "Times," Aug. 27, 1881.

"Egibi, the founder of the firm, probably lived in the latter part of the reign of Sennacherib." *

A great triumph of Mr. Rassam in his last expedition was the identification of the mounds of Abu Hubba with the antediluvian Sippara, and the proof that the priests of this ancient city were worshipers of the solar disk and solar rays, and had a creed resembling that of the disk-worshipers of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. There was a second city of Sippara, and the two cities may be identified with the cities of Sepharvaim. Cutha, another religious center, was also identified. We await with interest the results of the present season's explorations.

The Assyrian religion, as we have it in the monuments, is the product of the fusion of the two religious systems of the Accadians and Semites. This religious reformation took place in the time of Sargon I. We cannot study these systems separately throughout, but it will serve our present purpose best to give, in the beginning of our discussion, some account of the Accadian system. "There is a complete world of malevolent spirits, the distinguishing characteristics of which are strongly marked, and their attributes determined with precision; while the hierarchy to which they belong is classed in a most learned manner. At the top of the scale are placed two classes of beings, which partake more nearly than the others of the divine nature, and are genii or demi-gods, a sort of inferior deities. The first bear the Accadian name, *Mas*, 'soldier, warrior,' which is substituted in the Assyrian by *Sed*, 'genius;' the second, the Accadian name of *Lamma*, 'giant,' translated in Assyrian by *Lamas*. In the religious texts these names often designate propitious and protecting genii, under whose shelter people placed themselves; but, at other times, wicked and hurtful genii, whose power had to be charmed away." Whether there were good and bad genii at first, or the genii possessed a double character, does not appear. The spirits of inferior orders were demons, and decidedly malevolent. They were "destroyers, warriors, ensnarers." Generally each class was divided into groups of seven.† The rank of each god in the hierarchy was designated

* Boscawen, in "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology." vol. vi, p. 9.

† Among the Jews there were seven principal angels, one of whom was Raphael. Tobit xii, 15.

by a whole number from one to sixty; the rank of each deity by a fractional number with sixty for the denominator. The *Maskim*, "ensnarers," which were cosmical demons, had the power to disturb the order of nature. They dwelt in the abyss. Their antagonist was "the God of Fire." Their destructive power is thus described:

From the four cardinal points the impetuosity of their invasion burns like fire.
They violently attack the dwellings of man.
They wither every thing in the town or in the country.
They oppose the freeman and the slave.
They pour down like a violent tempest in heaven and earth.

There were also elementary malevolent spirits, the production of the infernal regions, which were present every-where, and greatly to be feared.

On high they bring trouble, and below they bring confusion.
Falling in rain from the sky, issuing from the earth,
They penetrate the strong timbers, the thick timbers;
They pass from house to house;
Doors do not stop them,
Bolts do not stop them;
They glide in at the doors like serpents,
They enter at the windows like the wind.*

These Accadian spirits dwelt in the deserts, mountains, marshes, and sea, from which they visited and tormented men.† When they possessed the body of a man they were expelled by exorcisms, and favorable demons were invited by incantations to take their place.‡ All diseases were thought to be the work of different demons, which possessed different parts of the body and were cast out by exorcisms, incantations, philters, and enchanted drinks. A complete knowledge of the system of Chaldean magic belonged only to the few, yet every one must needs know something of the incantations which pertained to the common exigencies of life. There were many purifications, and mysterious rites and magic knots possessed great potency. Still more mighty was the power of numbers. To insure a good harvest the Accadians sung:

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 23–30.
† Cf. Isaiah xxxv, 13, 14.
‡ Cf. Matthew xii, 27; Acts xix, 13–16; Tobit vi, 7, 16, 17; Josephus, "Antiq.," viii, 2, 5; Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph., c. 85.

The corn which stands upright shall come to the end of its prosperous growth;
The number (to produce that) we know it.*

Seven was a magic number of great power, perhaps also three and four. But the highest power was possessed by the divine name known only to Hea. Every thing must yield to that name, and it was even made a distinct person. We may profitably compare the power which the Talmudists and Cabbalists believed was hidden in the name of God. The Chaldeans had great faith in the power of talismans and the efficacy of sacred texts like the Jewish phylacteries. Amulets, with sacred formulæ chiefly in the Accadian language, were worn about the neck as charms. Talismanic images were supplied with food and drink, and protected their houses. Sometimes a most monstrous image of the demon was made for a talisman. It was believed that the demon would be frightened away by his own hideous likeness. Many gnostic gems also contain such monstrous representations. To cure a man of the plague, let his face be turned toward the setting sun, and apply "to the living flesh of his body" a talismanic image, and the plague demon will flee. To protect against the deadly influence of the south-west wind, its frightful image—"the figure of a horrible demon in an upright posture, with the body of a dog, the feet of an eagle, the claws of a lion, the tail of a scorpion, the head of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with goats' horns, and the eyes still remaining, and lastly, four great expanded wings"—was placed at the door or window, and it dare not enter. Many such images have been recovered, and are to be found in the museums.† Tihamat, the primordial sea, was thus represented, and the first imperfect beings created were of this monstrous character. The winged lions and bulls so numerous about palaces and temples probably possessed this talismanic character. To secure the constant defeat of evil demons, representations of battles in which the gods were victorious over them were placed upon the walls of the dwelling. Similar representations preserved the inscribed cylinders from diabolical influence. By conjuring, the Chaldeans professed to have supernatural power over

* "Chaldean Magic," p. 42. Cf. Horace, Carmen, xi, 2, 3.

† "Chaldean Magic," pp. 51, 52.

all spirits, both good and bad. They could by choice ally themselves with divine or demoniacal powers. Hence sorceries and witchcraft were most important in their religious rites. Hea and the sun were the chief protectors against the influence of sorceries. Through fear of their influence the practices of sorcerers were described in mysterious language only to be understood by the initiated, though the Assyrian translations of Accadian originals were more explicit. The sorcerer could bring all sorts of evil upon a man, and by magic spells could even destroy his life.

The malicious imprecation acts on man like a wicked demon,
The voice which curses has power over him;
The voice which curses has power over him;
The malicious imprecation is the spell (which produces) the disease of the head.
The malicious imprecation slaughters this man like a lamb;
His God oppresses him in his body;
His goddess creates anguish in him by a reciprocal influence,
The voice which curses covers him and loads him like a veil.*

Similar magic spells are familiar in all lands.

We cannot here enter fully upon the discussion of the philosophy of magic. It is a most interesting subject. Magic probably arose from an interpretation of the power of nature as the power of individual personal spirits, which could work for man, weal or woe. The sorcerer was the man who lived nearest nature's heart, and could control these spirits. Hence he became a priest. A great majority of the people had not this familiar access to nature, and could not control the spirits. They must resort to the sorcerers, whose services were imperatively necessary. When the good and evil spirits were formed into hierarchies, there might result a theurgy, as Neo-Platonism. Sorcerers were looked upon as almost superior beings. Their actions and mutterings were mysterious and full of awful meaning. They were feared, and their power dreaded. They could control the people and make them slaves. Sometimes they were openly and professedly in league with the devil, willingly taking service with evil spirits, and depending on their protection. The priesthood became an all-powerful tyranny.

It will be seen that if the Accads might be said to worship

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 64, 65.

at all, it was the worship of elementary spirits, which seemed frequently to have blended with material objects. These spirits were innumerable, and filled the universe. They were definite and distinct personalities, and were connected with every object. Of all the operations of nature they were the active cause. There was no recognition of one supreme God, but the unseen was recognized every-where. The people scarcely loved the beneficent spirits; they were in great terror of the malevolent. A great and deadly warfare was constantly waged between these two classes. The benefits which bless and the plagues that afflict humanity were their victories and defeats. They did not dwell separately, but a bad and a good spirit was connected with every element, every object, and struggled for its mastery. War was a necessity, peace impossible. Physical discords were battles. Sin, with the Accads, was neglect of religious rites or communion with malevolent spirits. This vast dualistic spiritualism, the very basis of the Chaldean magic, tyrannized mightily over men. All good and evil were connected with good and evil spirits. Every motion of moving cloud, waving grass, falling leaf, driving storm, every sound, the murmur of brook, the roar of ocean, the whisper of breeze, the voice of thunder, was caused by a spirit. It was impossible to do otherwise than to communicate with spirits.* Evil spirits must be driven away. Good spirits must be gained and strengthened against the evil. This could be accomplished by employing mysterious rites, charms, and talismans. Powerful secrets were mighty weapons in this warfare. The magician must be sought to protect man, to prevent direst calamities, and to control the forces of the unseen world. This was the only way of happiness and peace.

God and evil spirits were classified,† and at the summit of the hierarchy certain gods were placed; and yet they were no gods, but only possessed a higher range of the same power as the inferior orders of spirits. *Ana* was the spirit of the heavens; he was also the material heavens. *Hea* was the soul of the inhabited earth; he was also the dwelling of all animated beings. Hea was the god of science, the foe of evil spirits, the

* The Jews believed that angels could fall in love with beautiful women. Tobit vi, 14; Augustine, "De civ. Dei," c. 23.

† Cf. Book of Enoch lxviii, lxxvii.

protector of men, and the guardian of the world. His spouse, Davkina, was the personification of the surface of the earth. Their union produced the waters of the earth. They were translated bodily into the later Assyrian religion. *Mulge* was the god of the solid earth, and especially of the lower world, "the temple of the dead." In that gloomy realm there was no marked distinction of rewards and punishments, yet some were permitted to drink of the spring of water of life, when they could again visit the earth. Namtar, the god of plague, and Nandara, the god of war, were sons of Mulge. Nandara was also the god of mineral treasures, and possessed many precious gems which were the repositories of great magic power. The belief in spirits which preside over minerals is characteristic of Turanian, and is common also among many other, peoples. The demons of the under-world loved darkness. They came forth in the night seasons to torment men and do them mischief. Because of this the early Accads dreaded the night and darkness. The sun was their protecting god against black spirits, and was victorious over them every morning. While the Accads dreaded the night, the Chaldeans loved to behold the glories of the starry sky.

Diseases were considered punishments for sin. The good demons would withdraw their influence from the man who did evil, and leave him for a time to the power of the demons of disease. The sun was the principal god invoked for deliverance. By his superior power he could overcome and drive away the demons of disease. In an incantation against "the disease of the head" the prayer is offered that the diseases may fly away "like doves to their dovecotes, like grasshoppers into the sky, like birds into space," and be dissipated "like a nocturnal dew," or "be carried away into the heavens like a violent wind," and swallowed up in the earth "like passing waters."

Fire, as a material god, was thought to be even superior to the sun. We quote a hymn to the god Fire:

Fire, supreme chief, rising high in the country!
Hero, son of the ocean, rising high in the country!
Fire, with thy pure and brilliant flame, thou bringest light into the dwellings of darkness, thou decidest the fate of every thing which has a name;
Thou mixest copper and tin, thou purifiest gold and silver.
May the works of man, son of his god, shine with purity!

May he be high as heaven!
May he be holy and pure as the earth!
May he shine as the midst of heaven! *

Fire was called "warrior, hero, illuminator of darkness." As the god of the hearth he was called "god of the house, protector of the house, protector of the family." When sacrifice was offered he was god of the flame. He was the god of the cosmic fire which is distributed throughout nature. He it was who shone in the stars, and he who was worshiped as the son of Ana. It was important in magic rites to hold most intimate communication with so powerful a god.† The Accads used the "fire-stick" in kindling fires for their temple worship. The elements of this fire-stick are shown in the old hieroglyphics. Fire was believed to be self-producing, as shown by the word for the fifth month of the calendar, *Nenegar*, "Fire fire make"—a month under the patronage of a deity named "Lord of the wood of life." Heavenly fire was discovered by "the great heavenly fire-stick," the lightning, whose Accadian name was "the piercer of heaven." ‡

Silik-mulu-khi, a mediator between Hea and man, was frequently addressed in the incantations. § We give a hymn:

Who can escape thy hail?
Thy will is the sublime cimeter with which thou rulest heaven and earth.
I commanded the sea, and the sea became calm;
I commanded the flower, and the flower ripened into grain;
I commanded the girdle of the river of Sippara, and, by the will of Silik-mulu-khi, I overturned its course.
Lord, thou art sublime, what transitory being is equal to thee?
Silik-mulu-khi, among all the gods who are named, thou art the remunerator. ‖

We may compare this god with the Assyrian Merodach and the Zoroastrian Sraosha. We add one of the benignant spells:

The noble *cupbearer* of Hea, the scribe of Merodach (am) I,
Like fire have I blazed, (and) I rejoice;
(Like) fire have I burned, (and) I grow;

* "Chaldean Magic," p. 185. † *Ibid.*, pp. 184–189.

‡ Houghton and Boscawan in "Transactions Society Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, pp. 280, 281, 467.

§ Comp. "Book of Enoch," ix, 3; xl, 6; "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," iii and v.

‖ "Chaldean Magic," p. 192.

The corn I purify and make heavy.
Like fire have I blazed, (and) will rejoice;
(Like) fire have I burned, (and) will grow;
The corn will I purify and make heavy.
O nadir (and) zenith, the light of god and man,
May the store he collected, be delivered.
May the store of (his) heart, whosoever he be, ye his god
And his goddess, be delivered.
May his gate be *kept fast* on that day,
May they enrich him, may they deliver him.*

No one can fail to observe, even in an English translation, the peculiar characteristics of Hebrew poetry. The rhyme of sense is strongly marked. The Hebrews must have borrowed their rules for poetic composition primitively from the Accads.

The Accads probably believed in the primal innocency of the human race; at least sin was introduced in the world by the successful temptation of the dragon *Tihamat*. They believed in vicarious punishment, in Silik-mulu-khi as mediator and redeemer, and that the dearest object should be given for the sin of the soul. Human sacrifices, even sacrifices of the first-born, were offered by fire. The bloody sacrifices offered to Moloch were an inheritance from the Accads. The Accadian hymns formed a collection which has been compared with the *Rig-Veda*, and which "became the authorized prayer-book of the Accadian Church," and "the authoritative text-book of the priesthood." "Its sacred scriptures" afterward became "the venerable ritual of both Babylonia and Assyria." "A superstitious reverence seems to have been attached to the mere letter and pronunciation of the sacred text," so that the language became sacred, like the Sanskrit to the Hindus, and the Latin to the Roman Catholic Church. †

The Accads had made considerable progress in science and law. The great astronomical work of the library of Aganè shows considerable knowledge of astronomy. Therein are discussed eclipses, conjunctions of the sun and moon, spots on the sun, Venus, the Pole Star, comets; there were also predictions of the weather as determined by changes of the moon. It was supposed that the same weather was repeated after cycles of twelve years, and that the eclipses of the moon were repeated after two hundred and twenty lunations. The

* Sayce on "Times of Abraham," p. 40.
† "Babylonian Literature," pp. 46, 47.

night was divided into watches of four hours each. From the Accads we get the signs of the zodiac, the week of seven days, and the Sabbath, "the day of rest for the heart." Names had already been given to many stars and constellations, and the phases of Venus had been detected. The ecliptic, or "yoke of the sky," had been divided into three hundred and sixty parts, and the year into four seasons, twelve lunar months, and three hundred and sixty days. Intercalary months were introduced to correct the calendar. The month was divided into two parts of fifteen days each, and these again into periods of five days. It has been thought that the Accads, or early Assyrians or Babylonians, must have been acquainted with the use of some kind of optical instrument. Perhaps all of this had been accomplished before the Semites entered Shinar. If this be so, the latter received a goodly intellectual heritage from their Turanian predecessors in Chaldea. The oldest code of laws in the world comes from ancient Chaldea. This is full of instruction. Rare commercial documents, though belonging to a period later than Sennacherib, we have already noticed. In reading these legal treasures one might almost imagine he was reading pleas of modern lawyers and decisions of modern judges. There were the same tedious formality, the same citing of precedents, and the same care in drawing up, signing, sealing, and witnessing documents. It was believed that the gods favored the just judge, and that divine punishments were inflicted upon those who received bribes or extorted unlawful tribute. These laws exist in both the original Accadian and the Assyrian translation. From legal documents we may learn much concerning the real life of the people and their position in the scale of civilization. An oath was required of the judge each day by which he bound himself to judge according to the law and testimony; his decisions became precedents for the future. The slave and his children had certain rights in which they were protected; descent was counted through the mother; she held the highest rank in the family; divorce on the part of a wife was more blameworthy than divorce on the part of a husband; "whatsoever a married woman incloses shall be her own property;" sacrilege was a very grave offense; fine and imprisonment were the penalties for contempt of court; the high-roads and brick-yards were placed under the

...re of commissioners; the empire was divided into districts ... purposes of taxation; careful records were kept of the pur... and sale of property; awful curses were pronounced upon ... who removed landmarks, and endowments were bestowed ... literary men for celebrating the praises of the sovereign. ... all these laws have not their origin among the Accadians, ... certainly belong to a most ancient period. The high es... in which women were held among the Accadian inven... of the syllabary is shown by the ideograph for mother, ... means "deity of the house." This is far different from ... esteem in which women were held among the Assyrians, ... be mentioned hereafter. The ideograph for father means ... maker of the nest," builder of the house.*

The Accadian worship has not remained stationary during ... centuries covered by our review. There are evidences of ... advancement toward solar worship even before the influence ... Semitism was felt. The old spirits of fetish worship were ... organized in the time of Sargon. The spirits which had ... worshiped as spirits of earth, heaven, and other objects, ... deities instead of *zi* or spirit of fetish. The remainder ... the spirits were divided into spirits of heaven, or angels, ... spirits of earth, or demons. These classes were only in... ked collectively, and were regarded as the children of the ... gods, and the subjects of Anu and Hea. The old Ac... dian magic still remained, but was remanded to a subordinate ... sition. In the Accadian inscriptions the great gods of the ... yrian pantheon are not mentioned, and sidereal deities re... ive but slight notice. The sidereal gods themselves were not ... oked, but rather their spirits, which were considered as in... endent. The organized Chaldean hierarchy, with the de... lopment of the system of mythology and astro-theology, ... have been the result of long study on the part of a ... ned priesthood. We present two liturgical prayers which ... enable us to contrast the Accadian and Assyrian systems:

I.

... the curse, O Spirit of heaven, protect us! O Spirit of earth, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of lands, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of lands, protect us.

* "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi, pp. 474, 483.

O Spirit of the lord of stars, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of stars, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of the holy mound, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of the holy mound, protect us.
O Spirit of the lord of the light of life, protect us.
O Spirit of the lady of the light of life, protect us.

II.

May Bel, (pardon,) the king my creator.
May Beltis, queen of Bit-*zida*, (?) pardon.
May Bel-zida pardon my fault.
May Hea pardon, may Davkina pardon.
May Hea, lord of chaos, pardon.
May the Abyss, the house of wisdom, pardon.
Zeige, pardon; the watery deep, may it pardon.
Merodach, king of the angels, may he pardon.

And so on for twenty-five lines more, calling on various gods.* These prayers mark a great step in advance.

In entering upon the discussion of the Assyrian religion we do not part with the Accadian. We shall meet with its influence again and again. After the court religion had become decidedly Assyrian, the Accadian probably lived long among the common people, and was never entirely abandoned. Religions, even the poorest and beggarliest, are tenacious of life, and die not without many a struggle. "The astrologers, the Chaldeans and the soothsayers" in the time of Nebuchadnezzar were the legitimate religious successors of the Accadian magicians. The religion of the Etruscans, so powerful in its influence throughout the history of Rome, probably came from a source common with that of the Accads. The Etruscan and Accadian languages may show upon comparison genuine affinities.

The Assyrians believed in one supreme being, *Ilu*, "the god," formerly a hearth god, whose manifestations were at length identified with the planetary and sidereal systems. Ilu is found as an element in the word *Bab-Ilu*, Babylon, "the gate of Ilu," which in ironical alliteration the Hebrews called Babel, "the gate of confusion." Since the word *Ilu* is common to all Semitic tongues, Ilu must have been the god of the Semites before their dispersion.

"Next to Ilu, the universal and mysterious source of all things, came a trinity composed of his three first exterior and visible

* Boscawen in "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi. pp. 539, 540.

manifestations, which were placed at the summit of the scale of the popular worship; Anu, the primordial chaos, the god of time and the world, (both χρόνος and κόσμος,) uncreated matter existing from the fundamental and unique principle of all things; Hea, the intelligence, or we would willingly say, the WORD, which animated matter and rendered it fertile, which penetrated the universe, directed and inspired it with life, being at the same time the king of the element of the water; in one word, the spirit which moved upon the face of the waters;" and lastly, Bel, the demiurgus and ruler of the organized universe. "These three co-equal and co-substantial divine persons were not of the same degree of emanation, but they issued, on the contrary, one from the other: Hea from Anu, and Bel from Nuah.*" From these gods came a female trinity; Anat, Belit, and Davkina—often confounded one with another, Belit ultimately excluding the others. We cannot hope to meet with entire consistency in any mythology, and must not be startled at the baldest inconsistencies. By another series of emanations was produced a second trinity: Sin, "the moon god," was the son of Bel; Samas, "the sun god," the son of Hea; and Bin, "the air god," the son of Anu. Each of these deities had a spouse: "the supreme lady," Gula, and Sala. Next in rank came the five planetary deities: Adar or Saturn, Merodach or Jupiter, Nergal or Mars, Ishtar or Venus, and Nebo or Mercury. Adar was both son and spouse of Belit. Because of the two forms of Mercury and Venus, as even morning and evening, there was a double Ishtar; and Nebo became Nebo and Nusku. Zarpanit was the consort of Merodach, Laz of Nergal, Tasmit of Nebo, and Duzi or Dumuzi of Ishtar. The twelve "great gods" were Anu, Hea, Bel, Belit, Sin, Samas, Bin, Adar, Merodach, Nergal, Ishtar, and Nebo.

Many titles of the great gods acquired a distinct personality, and were invoked as deities. There were also many lesser gods, and personifications of the stars, which were thought to be animated by gods or lower supernatural beings. Here were placed the protecting spirits: the Sed, Alap, or Kirub, a bull with a human face; the Samas or Nirgal, a lion with a human head; the Ustur, of human form; and the Nattig, with the head of an eagle.†

* "Chaldean Magic," pp. 114, 115. † Cf. Ezekiel i, 10; x, 14.

Here also we must place the *Igili* and *Anunnaki*, celestial and terrestrial spirits, three hundred of the former and six hundred of the latter. Anu, Hea, and Bel were sometimes called the children of Zicu or Zicara, "the sky," "the mother of Anu and all the gods," (*Sige* of Nicolaus Damascenus.) Assur and his wife Sernya were afterward placed at the head of the Assyrian pantheon, and then Assur was called the father of Anu, Hea, and Bel.

Each god from time to time seems to be highest. This may be explained by attending to several considerations. In the first place, different gods were the patron deities of different places, and received special honors. Other gods were not neglected entirely, but were subordinate to the god who had the place under his special protection. Again, the inscriptions run through many centuries, during which the reputation of a god might rise or fall. We are also to notice that in the worship of the devoted Assyrian, he might exalt the god to whom he is praying as though there were no other, making that god highest to whom prayer is at the time offered. Generally many gods are addressed, that the worshiper may be on friendly terms with all.

Anu, the Assyrian Zeus, the god of Erech, was the ruler of heaven. When the religion had developed by philosophical study, Anu became an abstract deity, the first principle and source of all divine emanations. He was "the ancient, the progenitor and father of the gods," and dwelt in the seventh heaven, called "the heaven of Anu." His sign was the star, or a symbol resembling a Maltese cross, which was often worn round the necks of Chaldean kings. His spouse was Anatu. The whole universe was sometimes divided into two regions; the upper, or heaven, was called Anu, the lower, or earth, Anatu. She was the lady of darkness, and of death and life. Bilkan, one of her sons, was the god of fire, (cf. Vulcan and Tubal-Cain.) She is frequently confounded with her daughter, Ishtar, and, like the latter, was the impersonation of passive reproductive nature. As Anaitis, the wife of Reseph, she was worshiped by the Egyptians from the time of the Syrian conquests of Ramases II.*

Hea, identified with Oannes, the fish-god of Berosus, had

* "Chaldean Genesis," pp. 54, 55; "Archæological Dictionary," pp. 53, 54.

the attributes of several classical divinities. Like Pluto he was lord of the lower regions. Ninkigal, his spouse, was "the lady of the great land, the lady of the house of death." Like Poseidon, Hea was "lord of the abyss, lord of fountains, and lord of sailors." He taught Hasisadra, the Chaldean Noah, how to build the ark and sail over the flood. He had dominion over various spirits of the deep, and was associated with the goddess Bahu, "the void," Bohu of Genesis, also called Gula. Like Hermes, Hea was "the god who knows all things, lord of wisdom, mines, treasures, gifts, and music, and the lord of the bright eye." His consort, Davkina, resembled Persephone or Proserpine.

Bel, the god of Nipur, was the deity of physical power and of the moving, heavenly bodies, the lord of the surface of the earth and of the affairs of men, and the determiner of the destinies of nations. He was a popular national god, and his temple at Nipur the type of all temples. His wife, Belat, or Beltis, like Anatu, the goddess of reproductive nature, was also the goddess of war. Every woman in Babylon was obliged to prostitute herself in the temple once in her lifetime to this goddess. Babylonian legends, found at Khorsabad on little clay olives, bear witness to this frightful custom.* Bel was represented as a king wearing a tiara crested with bulls' horns, and holding a scepter as an emblem of power. Bel Merodach, "the younger Bel," was the patron deity of Babylon. The Phœnician Baal, represented by a pillar of stone, was worshiped with human sacrifices. At Tyre he was called Melkarth, and had two pillars, one of gold and one of emerald, in front of his temple. Jezebel, the most beautiful but most wicked Israelitish queen, introduced his organized worship in Israel. With Baal were associated Ashtoreth, the moon-goddess, and Ashera, the goddess of fertility.

Sin, the moon-god, the son of Bel, was a favorite deity of the Cushite kings of the early Babylonians, and the principal deity of Ur. He was called "lord of crowns, maker of bright-

* "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 43, 44; "Rawlinson's Herodotus," vol. i, pp. 265, 266; Bohn's "Strabo," vol. iii, pp. 155; Jeremias, 43. Succoth-Benoth of 2 Kings xvii, 30, "tents of daughters," is explained by most expositors as referring to the tents of this prostitution. Succoth-Benoth may be Zirat-banit, wife of Bel-Merodach.

ness, lord of the city of Ur, king of the gods, and god of the gods." He was also called Nannaru, "the bright one," whence the classical legend of Nannarus. He was worshiped under the name of Ur, "eldest son of Bel," and may be connected with *Al-orus*, the first mythical king of Berosus.*

The following liturgical hymn to the moon-god was in use in the great city of Ur. Translated by Lenormant, Englished by Tomkins. The original Accadian was accompanied by an Assyrian translation:

High-exalted, all-producing, life unfolding from above!
Father, he who life reneweth in its circuit through all lands!
Lord! in thy goodness far and wide as sky and sea thou spread'st thine awe!
Warder of shrines in (Akkad's) land and prophet of their high estate!
God's sire and men's, of childhood guide, (?) even Ishtar's self thou didst create!
Primeval seer, rewarder, (sole,) fixing the doom of days remote,
Unshaken chief, whose heart benign is never mindful of thy wrongs:
Whose blessings cease not, ever flowing, leading on his fellow gods.
Who from depth to height bright piercing openeth the gate of heaven!
Father mine, of life the giver, cherishing, beholding (all)!
Lord who power benign extendeth over all the heaven and earth!
Seasons, (?) rains, from heaven forth drawing, watching life and yielding showers!
Who in heaven is high exalted? Thou! Sublime in thy behest!
Who on earth is high exalted? Thou! Sublime in thy behest!
Thou thy will in heaven revealest; (thee) celestial spirits (praise)!
Thou thy will on earth revealest; thou subdu'st the spirits of earth!
Thou! thy will in heaven as the luminous ether shines!
Thou! thy will upon the earth to me by deeds . . . thou dost declare!
Thou! thy will extendeth life in greatness, hope, and wonder wide!
Thou! thy will itself gives being to the righteous dooms of men!
Thou through heaven and earth extendest goodness, not remembering wrong!
Thou! thy will who knoweth? Who with aught can it compare?
Lord! in heaven and earth thy lordship of the gods none equals thee!†

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 10–16; iv, p. 54.
† Tomkins' "Times of Abraham," pp. 9, 10.

Samas, Shemesh of the Bible, (1 Sam. vi, 9,) the sun-god, son of Hea, had important sanctuaries at Larsa and Sippara. He unfastens the bolts of the shining sky, and opens the door of heaven. He covers the immensity of the heavens. He is the "illuminator of the darkness, who sets up those who are bowed down, who sustains the weak; whose face the archangels of the abyss contemplate; who rests like a bridegroom joyful and gracious; whom men contemplate and rejoice; the nourisher of the luminous heavens, who establishes truth in the thoughts of the nations, knowing the true and false; the supreme judge of heaven and earth, lord of living beings, whom the celestial archangels press about with respect and joy, and the servants of the lady of crowns lead in a festive manner, directing the human race and giving them peace, pardoning short-comings and transgressions, dissipating the evil influence of wonders, omens, sorceries, dreams, evil apparitions." *

Bin or Rimmon, (also variously called *Vul*, *Ao*, *Iva*,) son of Anu, was god of storms and tempests, of rain and whirlwind, of thunder and lightning, of floods and watercourses—the god of the air "who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands and *wicked* countries." He destroyed crops and rooted up trees, and was followed by famine and pestilence. He was "the great guardian of heaven and earth, the intelligent guide, the lord of the visible world, the lord of knowledge, glory, and life." His most usual symbols were the serpent and the double or triple bolt.

Ninip, or Adar, the Chaldean Hercules, is described as "the crusher of opponents, he who rolls along the mass of heaven and earth, treader of the wide earth, who has not lessened the glory of his face; head of nations, bestower of scepters; lord of lords, whose hand has controlled the vault of heaven and earth; lord of water-courses, seas, and whirlwinds; opener of canals, and lord of crops and boundaries; the deity who changes not his purposes, the light of heaven and earth, whose word the speech of the gods no god has ever disregarded, destroyer of them that hate him." He is also called "son of the zenith, son of El the sublime." His temple is "the temple of the sanctuary." He gives power over the beasts of the fields,

* "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 123–128.

and reigns a monarch of the nations. His symbol was a winged bull.*

Merodach was the guide of souls to Hades. He raised the dead to life, and was "the renowned chief of the gods and the lord of eternity without end." Khammurabi chose Merodach as the head of his worship. He is the mediator between gods and men, and answers the prayers of the good man. He changes the hearts of men, and determines their destinies.†

Nergal was "the god of arms and bows, the great hero, king of fight, master of battles, champion of the gods, god of the chase." Nirgalli were Assyrian winged human-headed lions which, together with the Alapi, guarded the entrances to the royal palaces. The lion-god was worshiped by the Cuthæans. 2 Kings xvii, 30.

Ishtar, the Assyrian Venus, though generically a goddess of the second rank, was raised to the first rank in both Assyria and Babylonia. She was the goddess of war, "the goddess of battles and victories." She gives arms to the warrior, upholds him, gives him the help of "sixty great gods," and utterly destroys his enemies. Long life, victory, and abundance are in her hand. She brings down the high head of the proud; she exalts, strengthens, and preserves the kingdom. As Anaitis, she was worshiped at Comana, where her statue was of solid gold, her high-priest next in rank to the king, and her temple served by six thousand servants. She was called "queen of queens, archer of the gods, terrible in battle." She was represented as a winged figure with a halo and a bow. Ishtar was also the goddess of love, and was called "lover, nurse, guardian, and servant." She was the goddess of sensual indulgence, and in the Izdubar legends seemed to have been the goddess of witchcraft, like Hecate and Medea. We find her also in the character of goddess of treasures, and "queen of the spear" or "divining rod." ‡

Nebo was "the overseer of the multitudes of heaven and earth, the supreme watcher, the holy minister of the gods, of lofty intelligence, founder of the (fabric) of heaven and earth."

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 39, 40: ix, p. 96; i, p. 11; v, p. 108; xi, p. 9.

† *Ibid*, vol. v, p. 116; vii, p. 75; v, p. 139.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 61–78; vii, pp. 67, 68; ix, p. 51. Bohn's "Strabo," vol. ii, pp. 279, 309.

He caused the hand of Neriglissar to hold "a scepter of righteousness." More important is his character as god of knowledge, science and literature. With his wife Tasmit he invented writing, and directed the education of Assyrian kings. Assurbanipal asserts that Nebo and Tasmit had 'made broad his ears, and enlightened his eyes,' so that he ordered all the characters of the syllabaries and the ancient writings of Accad to be explained and written down." Nebo, as "the eastern sun in the height of heaven," may be identified with the Hindu Mithras. He was represented as a king crowned with a high-horned cap, and holding a scepter or staff. Nusku, one of his attributes, grew into an independent deity. Upon the dedication of a temple, Nebuchadnezzar prayed: "O Nebo! noble son, exalted (messenger) and beloved offspring of Merodach! my works of piety behold joyfully! A long life, abundant offspring, a firm throne, a prolonged reign, the subjection of all rebels, the conquest of my enemies' land, grant to me as a recompense." *

Assur, although not included in the genealogies of the gods, became the king and father of the gods, and "the worship of Assur" became the religion of the realm. His chief temple was dedicated to the "mountain of the world." He it is who, with Merodach, confided sovereign power to Sargon, "the viceroy of the gods at Babylon," and "the favorite of the great gods." In his book the names of the pious are recorded. His favorite emblem was "the winged circle or globe, from which a figure in a horned cap is frequently seen to issue, sometimes simply holding a bow, sometimes shooting his arrows against the Assyrians' enemies." †

Several gods are sometimes elaborately addressed in the same inscription. ‡

We cannot even name all the gods of the Assyrian pantheon. In one inscription we have a list of several hundred with their attributes. We have named the most important. We have already met with El, who is the god of the Hebrews. We also had Yav, the Yaveh of the Moabite stone, the Jehovah of the

* "Records of the Past," vol. v, pp. 122–139; xi, p. 101; vii, p. 77. "Archaic Dictionary," p. 557.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 17. "Transactions Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. iii, p. 449. "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, pp. 3, 4.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. xi, p. 24; v, p. 29.

Israelites. Turtak, the Accadian deity of the Tigris, is the Tartak of the Bible, (2 Kings xvii, 31.) Lagamar, whose temple at Susa was rebuilt by the emperor Kudur-Nakhunte, has left his name in Kedorlaomer, who fought in Palestine in the time of Abraham, (Genesis xiv, 1–17.) Deities of surrounding nations were legitimate spoils of war. Assurbanipal captured and carried away into Assyria nineteen "gods and goddesses, with their valuables, their gods, their furniture, and priests and worshipers." *

The comparison of the Assyrian religion with the Old Testament Scriptures must be reserved for a second paper.

Art. VII.—PRESENT STATE OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY.

That is a superficial view of theology which makes it simply a science of religion. In its literal sense it means a science of God, or divine things. But even this definition, derived from the etymology of the word, is too meager. To be exhaustive as well as comprehensive it must include more. Our Protestant theology is based upon the Christian religion, which is a supernatural revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ. The facts of Christianity were first divinely revealed, then realized in man's experience, and lastly elaborated into a systematic whole by a reflection on the facts of man's consciousness as guided and enlightened by the divine Spirit. Theology is, therefore, not only an affair of the head, but also of the heart; it is a theory and a practice as well; not only a form of knowledge, but also a precious experience. Hence a complete definition of theology must take these three points into consideration: first, the supernatural communication of the facts of salvation; second, the personal experience of these facts by man; and, third, their scientific arrangement.

From this point of view an attempt will be made to sketch the Protestant theology of to-day, which may be divided, according to its hostile or friendly attitude toward the Bible, into two groups. The one reverently accepts, the other deliber-

* "Records of the Past," vol. i, pp. 87, 88.

ately rejects, the divine authority of the Scriptures. This attitude toward the Bible has acted as a sifting power, eliminating the unlike elements and drawing the like elements together more closely. The growth of Protestant theology seems to have been along two lines, parallel at first, but now diverging more and more. The champions of either side are uniting more closely in their respective encampments, while the breach between them is widening and the antagonism intensifying.

For a clearer apprehension of this process of selection and rejection let us make

I. A Brief Historical Review.

We must go back to the Reformation, which is the mother, and, as it were, the source, of Protestant theology, in order to get at the fundamental principles which underlie the present. One of these primary principles of the Reformation was to put the divine authority of the Bible over the authority of the Church, thereby proclaiming freedom from all outward traditional trammels. Protestantism delivered from the tyranny of the Church by carrying back to the Bible. Another of these first principles was its teaching that man is justified by faith, that he is dependent on God alone, with whom he can hold direct intercourse at any time by faith, without human intervention or priestly mediation.

These two principles of man's dependence and man's independence—obligation and liberty—when held together properly balance each other. But the equilibrium was sometimes destroyed by unduly emphasizing the one at the expense of the other. The two extremes in the Protestant theology of the present can be traced to a divorce of these two pervading principles of the Reformation. Whenever the idea of man's dependence has been so strongly insisted upon that the idea of his independence was lost sight of and separated from the true liberty of a living faith, then a cold orthodoxy, which ended with a soulless confessionalism, was the result. If, on the other hand, independence was exalted and faith severed from reason, it developed into latitudinarianism and generally ended with negation. But, happily, in the course of this historic process a theology has grown up, based upon the Bible, recognizing the dependence required in the Scriptures and

preserving independence, or the true liberty of the spirit. Without falling into confessionalism, it values creeds and confessions of faith as representing the ripest results of the piety and scholarship of the Church at any given period. This biblical orthodoxy rests upon the broad basis of the Scriptures, and counts its adherents by thousands in every tongue and clime.

If we closely observe this critico-historical process we shall find that a dry and lifeless orthodoxy gained the ascendency, not only in Germany and Switzerland, but also in Scandinavia, Holland, and England. In Germany, Luther had hardly closed his eyes when the opposing factions, which had been kept down by his personal presence and influence, began to threaten trouble. The conflict between the strict orthodoxy, led by Flaccius, and the milder evangelical faction, whose chief man was Melanchthon, ended with a signal victory for the orthodox party. In Switzerland, Holland, France, and Scotland, a Calvinism so stern that it was a crime to differ from it held absolute sway. In England the constitution of the State Church was about as exclusive and inflexible as could be devised. The unhappy effects of this controversial period which followed the Reformation appeared in a twofold manner: first, in a decay of vital religion; second, in a petrifaction of the living doctrines of the Reformation into mere intellectual formulas.

Such a frigid and rigid orthodoxy was impotent to satisfy the capacities of the head and the cravings of the heart. It was barren of all vital results. It could not inspire the heart with hope nor incite the intellect to any fruitful activity. It barred the door to all independent inquiry with its inexorable *credo*. No wonder, then, that the people, embittered at such a soulless orthodoxy, which suppressed the Christian truth, revolted, and, in their reaction against this ecclesiastical despotism which fostered such a theology, seriously threatened Christian truth itself. Nor did this process go on in Germany only. It appeared in Italy in a revival of the humanities; in England as deism, and in France as atheism and bald materialism. In Germany sovereign reason, throwing away the "humility of knowledge," assumed the throne, and the so-called rationalism *vulgaris* began to prevail in the countries of the Reformation.

in its interpretation of the Bible it did not trouble itself with any deep critical questions; its exegesis was of a very elastic nature; it set history aside when its testimony was not suitable, and simply denied the supernatural, and ended with becoming so trivial and frivolous that its divines preached on the best methods of raising and caring for cattle. The philosopher Kant calls the style of sermons of the age "Prose gone mad."

Although this rationalism counted several able men among its ranks, as Dr. Semler, and deserves credit for having given the cold, dry orthodoxy a death-blow, yet its influence upon theology and upon public life was a very deplorable one. It produced a large class of persons devoid of principle, who called themselves theologians, as the notorious K. F. Bahrdt.

Single men here and there stood on Bible ground, and let their light shine in the universal darkness; yet, upon the whole, the theology of that period was at a very low ebb. But the Lord provided. He raised up Spener, Zinzendorf, and Wesley to purify and vitalize this corrupt theology. It is a great mistake to think that these men were merely the founders of the modern home mission work. For although the pietism of a Spener had no formulated creed, it nevertheless exerted a great influence upon the doctrines of the Church by placing the almost-forgotten Christian life in the foreground. Zinzendorf, with his motto, "My passion is He, only He," touched the theology of the day by its Achilles' heel. Wesley, with his clear notions of sin, justification, regeneration, and sanctification, and with his wonderful talent for presenting these great truths level to the understanding of all classes, has helped, from his time onward to the present, both inside and outside of Methodism, at forming theological ideas.

To be sure, the work of these divinely commissioned men did not end this process of separating all unlike elements, for that is still going on now. But one fundamental principle has been so firmly fixed that it has never since been lost sight of; namely, *that a true theology is not merely a speculative form of knowledge, but a mode of living as well—a habitus practicus—and that it must produce the fruits of a practical Christianity.* We have never forgotten that there is an inseparable connection between religion and morality. Conflicts

have not been wanting. The admiring disciples of Kant attempted all kinds of possible and impossible "critiques of pure reason." Idealism was in its prime at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Bible has had to sustain a constant warfare with intellectualism, and, at present, is brought into frequent contact with the natural sciences. But, notwithstanding the most determined opposition, Bible theology has, from the times of Zinzendorf and Wesley forward, gained ground, established itself as a science, and driven to a decision either for or against itself.

The last act of this theological clarification was precipitated by the appearance of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, (1835.) It was not an epoch-making work in the sense of being productive of new ideas. On the contrary, it was not creative. Its *constructive* power was almost equal to zero, but its *destructive* tendency was so much greater. It does not so much mark an *epoch* as a *crisis* which dissipated dreams and illusions, showed the futility of vague theories and half-measures, and caused emphatic divisions on vital questions of religion. The eyes of the theological world were opened as never before. It became evident that Strauss' road led to the atheism of a Feuerbach, and that this landed into the materialism of a Darwin. The friends of a supernatural revelation rallied around the Bible. Christians took a definite stand, and asked each other: Is your theology based upon the Bible? Do you belong to the positive or negative party? Thus this earnest conflict has created a chasm, growing wider and more impassable than ever.

In England and Germany honest efforts were made by the so-called Compromise Theology (*Vermittlungs-Theologie*) to settle these differences. Schleiermacher, born at Breslau, 1768, is the founder of this movement. His father, an army chaplain, was favorably disposed to the Moravians, and had him educated in their schools. Their deep piety and spirituality made a life-long impression on Schleiermacher. He was gifted with a wonderful talent for metaphysical speculations. He made the essence of religion consist in a *feeling of absolute dependence upon God*, and attempts to give to the religious consciousness a scientific expression. He was peculiarly fitted, by nature and by training, to put an end to the conflict between the Christian dogma and rationalism, and to offer a

form of religion which could both satisfy the simple yearnings of a humble heart and the most exacting demands of an enlightened intellect. It must be confessed, however, that he did not accomplish this object, despite his most strenuous efforts. One class called him a rationalizing skeptic, and the other an incorrigible orthodoxist. But much was gained, even if he did not fully realize his ideal. Schleiermacher impressed upon the educated classes what Spener, Zinzendorf, and Wesley had taught the masses, *that theological knowledge and piety are not identical, but must always be united in a true theology.* He has, therefore, often been called the father of modern theology.

Quite a number of eminent men, following Schleiermacher's footsteps, tried to reconcile the teachings of the Bible with the results of modern science. But the believers among these compromise theologians soon learned that the unbelievers made demands which those standing on Bible ground could not grant, and that these negative critics were not half so eager to arrive at a mutual understanding of the controverted points as to secure a full recognition of their claims. It soon became evident that concessions and half-way measures would not answer. Lafayette's remark explained the situation: "If I affirm 2×4=8, and some hot-head denies it, saying it is ten, then the compromiser comes in between, with dignified demeanor, and says, 'The truth is somewhere between you; we must strike the difference, 2×4=9.'" Tholuck's words, that "truth is not in the middle but at the bottom," were taken to heart. To-day this kind of *Vermittlungs-Theologie* is a thing of the past. Our age is one of intense earnestness and decision, and has inscribed upon its banner: "Be wholly what thou art."

Let us now glance at

II. The Present Situation.

This critical historical process is marked by three characteristic tendencies.

1. We shall first notice the so-called *Liberal* or *Modern Theology*. Of course this term is somewhat ambiguous. It is as indefinite as it is comprehensive, and may include pantheists, atheists, and materialists; in fact all who are generally

given to drawing theological conclusions from philosophical premises. But, however great their difference otherwise, they all agree on this point, *that the human mind is the determinator of religious truth, and clearness the criterion of truth.* It is in reason alone that truth and reality are to be found. Reason is the ultimate test of religious truth as well as of all truth. Reason must be obeyed as the only supreme guide. What the light of your mind pronounces incredible, that you are to leave unredited. In a word, their principle is the absolute supremacy of the natural faculties of man.

Some of these liberal theologians deny the supernatural in all of its forms. With one grand sweep they dispose of revelation, inspiration, miracles, and providence. They cull a few moral precepts from the Scriptures, but reject its objective elements entirely. They repudiate an historical Christianity, especially the God-man, Jesus Christ, his sinlessness, wondrous works, atoning death, and his resurrection. There are other liberals who are not quite so radical. While they profess great respect for Christianity—namely, their Christianity—and would shudder at the thought of rejecting Christ altogether, yet they assume the right to set up an eclectic Christianity, and decide how much is permanent and necessary and how much is temporal and accidental, what is essential and what is superfluous in Christ's teachings. Revelation is not *denied*, but *qualified*. Revelation, as the outer light, is to be respected only so far as it agrees with reason, the inner light. This class approaches the holy word of God as a dinner-party does a well-spread table, where each may take what suits his taste. They sort the Bible, and say this passage we must accept and that we must reject; this passage is genuine, that is doubtful, and that is corrupt. They approve of heaven, but ridicule the idea of hell; they earnestly advocate immortality, but just as firmly reject what the Bible teaches on resurrection.

These theories may be "modern," fashionable, and highly acceptable to a large class of people, but they certainly are not a theology, in so far as they refuse homage to Jesus Christ. The adjectives "liberal" and "modern" have entirely displaced the substantive "theology." However much we may respect the sincerity of its advocates, we cannot call their theology Christian. Although they have rendered some real and

permanent services to theology by bringing a very industrious and acute, though not always fair, criticism to bear on the Christian records, and thus making a fresh study of the Scriptures and the grounds of their defense necessary, yet they awakened an appetite which could not produce bread, much less the bread of life. It leaves the cravings of the heart unsatisfied, and many unsolved problems for the inquiring mind. Pearson has truly said: "Modern theology is full of contradictions, which no philosopher would tolerate." You cannot live *by*, nor die *on*, such a theology; it is an insufficient light for those who tread the dark and dreary mazes of life; its many interrogations can give no consolation in the gloom of death, nor fire the dying eye with the hope of life eternal.

Those who venture upon this slippery ground are in danger of falling into absolute negation. If we can deny *one* Christian truth, why not a *second* or a *third?* There is only one step between *rejecting a divine revelation* and *denying the existence of God.* The next thing, after having denied God and put man upon his throne, is to obliterate the distinction between mind and matter. This leaves no room for human liberty, and lands in a fatalistic materialism.

Strauss, together with many others, has traveled this downward road. The denial of an *historical Christianity* led to a denial of *God.* Here was atheism and pantheism. The next was a denial of *mind,* as a free, self-active, and self-determining intelligence. Here was materialism. This extreme wing of modern theology was, as a matter of course, barren of all vital results. It lays its destructive hand upon every thing positive, and ends with nihilism. And how could it be otherwise? If you add an infinite number of negations the sum will be nothing.

This movement has a larger following in the Protestant world than is generally believed. It counts its adherents by the thousand in all the State Churches of Europe—sometimes lurking under guise of a faultless orthodoxy; sometimes boldly avowing its purpose, as the Protestant Association of Germany, which welcomes to its wide folds all factions, orthodox, liberal, pantheist and materialist, in so far as they are willing to accept and adhere to the ethical principles of Christianity. It claims to maintain a laudable ambition of "harmonizing

discordant elements into a better consistency." In England and America they are generally, but not always, to be found in independent congregations, or among the Unitarians and Universalists. There are, however, a great many others, sailing under orthodox colors, who are more or less infected with this modern theology.

The characteristic of this movement is that it emphasizes man's independence in things spiritual at the expense of a true dependence, and thus turns liberty into license. This caused a strong reaction. Another party arose and sought to avoid this extreme and save evangelical liberty. But it did so by hedging it in with narrow creeds and Church doctrines. This is

2. *Confessionalism.*

Instead of relying upon the power of faith, it relies upon the power of the past, and goes back to the seventeenth century. Its position is explained in the sentence, "*Tenemus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" The theology of the nineteenth century must go back to the seventeenth century, or to the Reformation, or farther still, for its warrant. Hengstenberg, the father of the restored Lutheranism, and Pusey, the founder of the High Church party in England, were by and by distanced by their bolder followers.

This movement gave great prominence to the ceremonies and ordinances of the Church, and restored a sort of sacrament worship. The sacraments are not only *a means* of grace, but *the only medium* through which grace is granted. The altar is, consequently, placed above the pulpit; baptism is regeneration; justification is a material communication of divine life through the sacraments; the visible Church is the true Church, and all who are baptized are its members. Besides this, the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's Supper is taught, and confirmation and ordination are regarded as sacramental acts. Protestant theologians here take the place of the Catholic bishop, and the reformers the place of the Pope. Not the fellowship of saints or brotherhood of believers, but the adherents to a certain creed, compose the true Church. Its standard and sacred treasure is the "*sound doctrine*," and anathema sit upon him who varies from it a hair's-

wealth! Piety is displaced by a belief which is not born of an inner conviction, but has been outwardly proposed for acceptance as a mathematical formula. Any one can see that this tends toward Catholicism. Many of its leaders, in fact, are dallying with Romanism, and some of them openly avow that the Catholic idea of a Church is the only true one. Auricular confession, absolution, and extreme unction have been introduced by Loehe among the Neo-Lutherans in Germany, and by the extreme left wing of the Puseyites in England.

In connection with this abstract dogmatism we find their juridic construction of the rights of the Church, whose existence, they teach, as a propounder and conserver of the sound doctrines, is guaranteed by state and international law. To hear the current talk of many Lutherans in our own country, one might conclude that theirs was the only Church which had a legal right to exist in the United States. All this savors strongly of Romanism, with which it has these and many other points in common. It is every-where infected with the prevailing social and political views, and is likewise strongly tainted with modern philosophy, which it really abhors and combats, but whose forms and culture it uses to ingratiate itself with, and retain its hold upon, the public mind. Strifes and internal divisions also indicate that it is afflicted with the same symptoms that trouble Romanism. All of its dissimilar elements are gathered under one cover, and this harmonious company is faithfully described by the prophet: "They will eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; Ephraim, Manasseh; and they together will be against Judah." Isa. ix, 21, 22.

But redeeming features are not altogether wanting. It deserves credit for having brought about a better understanding of the Old Testament canon. Some of their spokesmen were very able Hebraists. But it has brought forth nothing that has the power to transform the heart and life of the individual, or to protect the Church universal from its common foe. For what is gained in this conflict against skepticism if you bolt the doors of your own little room when the entire structure upon which all creeds are built is assailed? In fortifying and fighting for the Church these hide-bound orthodoxists seem to think that Christ's promises with regard to his Church, "The

gates of hell shall not prevail against it," apply only to their denomination. This movement was of no account to defend the Church from foes without, nor could it strengthen the Church within. A multitude of formulas, dogmas, and threatening anathemas nipped the Christian life in the bud.

Besides this radical theology, which is divided into two wings, latitudinarianism and confessionalism, there exists another form of theology, which we may call

3. *Evangelical Orthodoxy.* It is distinguished by three characteristic features.

The first feature we notice is its thorough and progressive scholarship. By its methods and by its results it answers the question which Schleiermacher once put in a sad mood, "Must Christianity and ignorance on the one hand, and skepticism and science on the other hand, always remain synonymous?" with an emphatic No. Not proud reason, but the word of God, is proclaimed sovereign, and placed upon the throne. With this party progress does not mean "to always know more in science and believe less in theology." It is not true that "the pulpit is losing because the people are growing." It does not begin with affirmation to end with negation, but it goes from faith to knowledge, and from knowledge to a still larger faith and clearer understanding of the things believed. It is rearing its structure, with the true principles of scientific research, upon the firm foundation of the everlasting rock, and, consequently, it is fruitful in valuable results. True theology is like the granite mountain out of whose bosom flow the living waters, and from whose sides the storms may sweep loose sands away, but will leave the mountain itself unmoved. This theology has flung its banner to the breeze, upon which is written, in flaming letters, "Knowledge." While recognizing the fact that Christianity does not owe its rapid spread to the "enticing words of man's wisdom," yet it sees that a sanctified scholarship is a great help in its bitter conflict with rationalistic criticism. Our age lays great stress upon knowledge, which is its strong point and its weak point at the same time. Genuine theology does not shut its eyes against what is going on in the thinking world; it will ever aim to appropriate the highest and best fruits of scientific research, and those theological drones who sneer at this advance of inquiry, or are too lazy and

indifferent to avail themselves of its results, will be simply left behind.

A large number of German theologians belonging to this movement have made important contributions to the field of original research. They are like miners who dig the deep shafts into the dark bowels of the earth to bring up the ore which others convert into a thousand useful instruments; they have gone forth as pioneers to open the road in every direction; working in some chosen branch as specialists, they have produced works of great erudition, full of germinal thoughts for others to elaborate and apply. True, not a little chaff is sometimes mixed with the wheat, but that does not destroy its value, which is fully appreciated on both sides of the Atlantic. There is scarcely a theologian of note who does not try to acquaint himself with the results of the evangelical theology of Germany.

But Anglo-Saxon theology has likewise achieved some valuable results, especially in the department of Bible interpretation and homiletics. It is greatly to be regretted that these excellent works are not more widely known in Germany, where they would, doubtless, exert a most beneficent influence on account of their positive and practical tendency. If space permitted we might mention a long list of English and American theologians who have rendered valuable services not only in exegetical and homiletical, but also in other departments of theology. Suffice it to say that the Anglo-Saxons and their German brethren are vying with each other to raise the scholarship of evangelical theology to the highest standard.

A second feature of this theology is that it is based upon faith. A thorough scholarship is necessary, but faith and reason must be united in holy wedlock. Belief in the Bible as a positive divine revelation is required. We must bow before the Scriptures with a reverential mind as the unerring word of God, as the objective noun for our subjective faith—knowledge. Our theological structure must be built upon a *divine* as well as *human* foundation. It will not do to permit an appeal to this or that Church creed, or to the so-called "Christian consciousness." Many theories destructive of the fundamental principles of Christianity have been smuggled in on this plea. Differences on subordinate questions are permissible, but in

our system of doctrine the Scriptures furnish the only authoritative criterion.

All streams that flow here point back to their infallible source, to the personal Christ and the revelation of divine truth in his person. This Christ Jesus, blessed for evermore, is the nucleus around which evangelical theology has formed; the center from which the gracious light of divine truth is thrown upon God's relation to man, and man's relation to God. Christ is the ground and corner-stone to which the theological structure is inseparably joined—not, however, *a Christ*, the fanciful product of human imagination, but *the Christ*, as revealed in the gospels. It is beginning to be fully appreciated that this God-man, Jesus Christ, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever," is "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and that he only can impart vigor and vitality to the theological science.

But this evangelical orthodoxy of to-day goes one step further, and every-where insists that this Christ, who has "enlightened the eyes of our understanding," must also take complete possession of our heart, and make it his permanent abode. Christ in the heart is what makes the true theologian deserving his name. Wherever Christian truth has only entered the head it may be quickly displaced by other thoughts; but where it has not only *touched* but *taken full possession* of the heart, it will not be so easily removed. The study shall also become a closet of prayer; we must read the Scriptures, not only with the critical eye of the student, but with the tearful eye of a penitent sinner—as one who reads his pardon. We must read the Bible with the filial affection of a son who would hear his father's voice. These well-known Wesleyan maxims have now become a distinctive feature of the evangelical theology of all lands. However much yet remains to be done, we see the sun is rising. The day is dawning, and it is especially gratifying that this theology not only requires, but presumes faith in this personal, living, and life-giving Christ in all of its professors. Even men who, on account of their speculative leanings, are generally classed with the negative school, confess that Jesus Christ is the source and center of their thought and Christian life. Richard Rothe writes thus: "I can honestly say, that simple faith in Christ

is the sure foundation of all my thought—the Christ (not a dogma or a theology) who has for eighteen centuries conquered the world; and I will gladly surrender any so-called form of knowledge conflicting with him, my highest certainty." *Victor vincam*—Conquered I shall conquer—was the motto of this great religious thinker: it is likewise the motto of this evangelical theology. And as long as a Christian belief and a Christian life remain the crown of this theological science it will go on to still greater triumphs, and need not fear death or defeat.

It is due to Methodism more than to any other evangelical movement that a personal and living, as well as an intellectual and historical faith has become a characteristic feature of the theology of the present. By putting piety in the foreground, and constantly insisting on the necessity of a holy Christian life, it was the occasion of forming the evangelical party in the Anglican Church. In America it showed a dry, cold Calvinism what a theology of the heart could accomplish. In France, Germany, and Scandinavia it acted as a healthy leaven. Methodism deserves great credit for having proved to the Christian world that a personal, living faith in the crucified Christ must be the fundamental principle of theology. This is the sign in which it conquers: "The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation."

Although faith in Christ is the great distinguishing characteristic of this theological movement, one must not, therefore, think that it is without a doctrinal system, or that it is incapable of being formulated into a creed. On the contrary, nearly all who have joined this movement belong to one denomination or other. While they demand evangelical liberty for themselves, they freely grant it, without hurling anathemas to others who may differ from them on minor points.

A third feature of this theology is its *very practical tendency.* In Germany as well as England it is beginning to be thoroughly understood that practical and available men are quite as much needed as educated theologians. Our age is severely practical, and measures the value of a principle by its results. He who would aspire to a worthy leadership among men must know how to stay and sway the course of events. Theological squabbling and hair-splitting will not answer.

Piety and learning must produce practical results in deeds of mercy. It was not the learned Pharisee nor the orthodox Levite, but the good Samaritan who saved the life of the man who fell among the thieves.

This evangelical theology in Germany is remarkable for the wealth of learning and painstaking labor which it employs to get at clearer ideas on the mighty problems of religion, while their Anglo-Saxon brethren are taking the lead in practical benevolences. The German is the miner who digs down into the depths of the earth to bring up the crude ore which the Anglo-Saxon smelts and converts into machines that move the world. The German bores the artesian well, and then delights in the beautiful play of the waters; while the Anglo-Saxon dams them, makes them irrigate the dry places, and change the barren desert into a blooming garden. Corresponding to this national trait, we find that practical theology has reached a very high state of development in England and America, both as regards an excellent literature as well as the objective results in its public charities and home mission work.

Incited by the example of their Anglo-Saxon brethren, the Germans have entered this practical field with a commendable zeal. The final abundant proof of this is not only in their manifold benevolences, but, what is more remarkable for Germany, in the literature of the last decade. Practical theology in all its forms is ably treated, and live issues, current abuses social, political, and ecclesiastical, necessary reforms, methods, and experiments, are treated with a fullness and thoroughness which command our admiration. The believing German theologian will always remain more or less of an investigator, and we are glad of it. True, some of them, impatient at the slow fulfillment of their biblical realism, are having chiliastic dreams, and weaving fine-spun theories on the spiritual corporeality of Christ; but, upon the whole, the evangelical theology of Germany has taken a decidedly *practical turn.* Young Germany, with the Bible in one hand, a thorough education in the other, and Jesus Christ in the heart, has planted itself with these weapons right in the midst of the people, and is bravely fighting for the final victory. To-day practical theology is virtually taking the first rank in the whole Protestant-orthodox world. Christian Evidences, important as it may

seem, is not now getting the same amount of attention which it received two decades ago. The duties of the present are too urgent, for evangelical theology to give the witticisms of an Ingersoll or the new discoveries of a Darwin much attention. It sees that enough time has been spent to equip the ship and make it seaworthy, and, therefore, it boldly steers for the deep to accomplish its purpose. It is fully convinced of the fact that the time has now come when, with the testimony concerning Christ supported by science and by faith, it were folly to stop and answer the thousand-and-one objections which may be urged against Christianity. Now is the time to push forward aggressively if permanent results of real value are to be achieved.

This practical tendency, together with personal faith, has done a great deal toward drawing the different denominations nearer to each other, out of which has come the Alliance. There was a common ground upon which they could meet as brothers, and a common foe who could be conquered only by a union of all the forces; and so differences were set aside, barriers broken down, mutual approaches made, and, as a result, Christian fraternity followed. Such an alliance must develop gradually; diplomatic negotiations cannot bring it about; it grows out of a mutual understanding and a mutual respect for each other, in which both the differences and the agreements come to light. Spiritual unity does not require outward uniformity. To have brought about a spiritual confederation of believers is one of the grand results of the practical tendency of the evangelical theology of to-day.

It is going to be the theology of the future. Negation ends with nihilism, and confessionalism ends with lifeless formalism. Neither of these movements have a future as a theology. Indeed they do not deserve the name. The future belongs to the theology which is founded upon a true knowledge, born of a living faith, centering around our Lord Jesus Christ, whose active charities are as wide as the world; such a healthy, spiritual, living, evangelical orthodoxy, which is in full sympathy with every thing human, and ready to recognize the divine in whatever form it may be revealed—such a theology has a long lease on life; for it is anchored on Him of whom it is written: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given

him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, October, 1882. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. Native Races of Columbia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 2. The Cubit of the Ancients; by Charles Whittlesey. 3. Palæolithic Man in America; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. Phonetics of the Kayowe Language; by Albert S. Gatschet. 5. The Sister and Brother: an Iowa Tradition; by J. O. Dorsey. 6. Antiquities of Nicaragua—Origin of the Palenque Builders; by Dr. Earl Flint. 7. The Origin of the Architectural Orders; by Stephen D. Peet. 8. Keltiberian Inscriptions in Spain; by Rev. Wentworth Webster.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October. 1882. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Origin of Civil Authority; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 2. Cardinal Newman as a Man of Letters; by John Charles Earle, B.A. 3. Cesare Cantù and the Neo-Guelphs of Italy; by Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, LL.D. 4. The Attitude of Society Toward Religion; by Arthur Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 5. American Freethinking. 6. Superior Instruction in Our Colleges; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 7. Labor Discontent; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. The Coming Transit of Venus; by Rev. J. M. Degni, S.J. 9. England's Latest Conquest. 10. Irish Crime and its Causes; by John MacCarthy.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, November, December, 1882. (Cincinnati.)—1. Thomas Aquinas; by the late Rev. Richard M. Nott. 2. Comments on Matthew xvi, 16–18; by Rev. David Foster Estes. 3. The Free State of Tephricé; by L. P. Brockett, M.D. 4. Historical Proofs of the Soul's Immortality; by Rev. Lewis M. Ayer. 5. Our Debt to the Huguenots; or, What we Owe to French Protestantism; by Rev. J. N. Williams. 6. As to a Millennium; by Rev. H. A. Sawtelle, D.D. 7. The Sin Unto Death and Prayer; by C. E. W. Dobbs, D.D. 8. The Rise of the Use of Pouring and Sprinkling for Baptism; by Rev. Norman Fox.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1882. (Andover.)—1. The End of Luke's Gospel and the Beginning of the Acts: Two Studies;—by Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Development of Monotheism among the Greeks; by Dr. Edward Zeller; translated from the German by Edwin D. Mead. 3. The Trial of Christ: A Diatessaron with Dissertations; by Henry C. Vedder. 4. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 5. The Epistle to the Romans in the Revised Version: by Rev. R. D. C. Robbins. 6. Dr. Dorner's Position with Regard to Probation After Death; by Rev. William Henry Cobb.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Anniversary Address; by Pres. Charles F. Deems, D.D. 2. The Validation of Knowledge; by Prof. Henry N. Day, D.D. 3. Christ and Our Century; by Rev. A. H. Bradford. 4. The Duality of Mind and Brain; by Prof. Noah K. Davis, LL.D. 5. Nature, the Supernatural, etc.; by Prof. George T. Ladd, D.D. 6. God and Man Mutually Visible: by Howard Crosby, D.D. 7. Proceedings of the Institute.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Baccalaureate Sermon; by M. Rhodes, D.D. 2. Exegeses of John xvi, 8: Mission of the Spirit; by Elder G. R. Hand. 3. The Alleged Cruelties of the Old Testament; by Prof. J. W. M'Garvey. 4. Inspiration; by Elder H. W. B. Myrick. 5. The Name Christian and Pres. Pendleton's Essay; by Elder B. U. Watkins. 6. Simplicity of the Gospel; by W. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D. 7. The Question Settled; by H. Christopher, A.M., M.D. 8. Our Altar of Incense; by N. S. Haynes. 9. Reflections on a Pagan Picture of Primitive Christianity; by Robert T. Mathews, A.M.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1882. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. Holiness; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D. 2. Rev. Thomas C. Anderson, D.D.; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 3. Japan and the Japanese; by C. H. Bell, D.D. 4. Faith; by Rev. J. T. A. Henderson. 5. Studies in Christian Evidence; by S. H. Buchanan, D.D. 6. One Aspect of the Atonement; by Rev. W. C. Logan.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Strength of Young Men; by M. Valentine, D.D. 2. A Monophysitic Confession; translated by Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 3. The Old Matin and Vesper Service of the Lutheran Church; by Rev. Edward T. Horn, A.M. 4. Mission Work and Prophecy: A translation from the German of Prof. Franz Delitsch in "Saat auf Hoffnung;" by Rev. P. C. Croll, A.M. 5. The Lutheran Church in Ulster County, N. Y.; by Rev. William Hull. 6. The Salvation Army: Its Methods and Lessons; by Prof. C. A. Stork, D.D. 7. A Glance at Modern Missions; by Rev. William K lly. 8. Ecclesiastical Quarterlies in the United States; by Rev. Matthias Sheeleigh, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, September, 1882. (New Haven.)—1. The Importance and the Method of Bible Study; by Prof. C. J. H. Ropes. 2. Some Honest Doubts about the Supposed Only Scriptural Ground for Divorce; by Rev. I. E. Dwinell. 3. The Historic Religions of India—Buddhism: by Rev. C. W. Clapp. 4. The Real School Contest in Germany; by Prof. Edward Hungerford. 5. Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child in Unchristian Lands; by W. F. Crafts. 6. Les Basques; by J. Wentworth Webster; translated by John Davenport Wheeler. 7. Progress in Psychology; by Rev. E. Janes.

November, 1882.—1. Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England? by Edwin D. Mead. 2. Emerson's Relation to Christ and Christianity: by Rev. C. S. Walker. 3. Provision and Method of Salvation; by Rev. L. O. Brastow. 4. Hickok's Mental Science; by Prof. C. E. Garman. 5. A Chapter in the Religious History of Italy; by Rev. J. B Chase. 6. Les Basques; by J. Wentworth Webster; translated by John Davenport Wheeler. 7. Professor Bowne's Metaphysics; by J. P. Gordy. 8. Non-competitive Economics; by Prof. J. B. Clark.

January, 1883.—1. Spiritism a Scientific Question: An Answer to Professor Wundt's Open Letter; by Dr. H. Ulrici; translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 2. Conditions of Belief; by Rev. Burdett Hart. 3. Swedenborg as a Theologian and a Seer; by Rev. J. Brainerd Thrall. 4. Darwin and Darwinism; by Rev. J. M. Whiton. 5. The Preservation of the Classic Texts; by Prof. A. G. Hopkins. 6. St. Thomas Aquinas; or, Scholastic Philosophy in Modern Theology; by Austin Bierbower. 7. Herbert Spencer's Data of Ethics; by Rev. A. C. Sewall. 8. The Pilgrim Line of Theological Progress; by Rev. George Mooar, D.D. 9. Saint Luke: Physician, Painter, and Poet; by Hon. Frederick J. Kingsbury. 10. A Popular Fallacy; by Rev. F. H. Burdick.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1882. (New York.)—1 Political Assessments; by Dorman B. Eaton. 2. Oaths in Legal Proceedings; by Judge Edward A. Thomas. 3. Tornadoes and their Causes; by T. B. Maury. 4. Architecture in America; by Clarence Cook. 5. Constitutional Protection of Property Rights; by A. G. Sedgwick. 6. Earth-Burial and Cremation; by Augustus G. Cobb. 7. The Geneva Award and the Ship-Owners; by J. F. Manning.

October, 1882.—1. The Coming Revolution in England; by H. M. Hyndman. 2. The Morally Objectionable in Literature; by O. B. Frothingham. 3. Recent

Discoveries at Troy; by Dr. Henry Schliemann. 4. Political Bosses; by Senator John I. Mitchell. 5. Safety in Railway Travel; by Prof. George L. Vose. 6. The Protection of Forests; by Prof. Charles S. Sargent.

November, 1882.—1. English Views of Free Trade; by John Welsh. 2. Disorder in Court-Rooms; by Judge Joseph Neilson. 3. A Problem for Sociologists; by Dr. William A. Hammond. 4. The Industrial Value of Woman; by Julia Ward Howe. 5. Advantages of the Jury System; by Judge Dwight Foster. 6. Safety in Theaters; by Steele Mackaye. 7. The Pretensions of Journalism; by Rev. George T. Rider. 8. The Suppression of Vice; by Anthony Comstock, O. B. Frothingham, and Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley.

PRINCETON REVIEW, November, 1882. (New York.)—1. Wages; by William G. Sumner. 2. The Theological Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century; by Prof. Allen. 3. Great Britain, America, and Ireland; by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 4. The Education of the Will; by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D. 5. The Scottish Philosophy as Contrasted with the German; by President James M'Cosh. 6. Tariff Revision; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L.

January, 1883.—1. Revision of the Tariff; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L. 2. An Early American Version of the Scriptures; by Prof. Francis Bowen. 3. Disfranchisement for Crime; by James Fairbanks Colby. 4. The Theological Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century: by Prof. Allen. 5. Art and Ethics; by Henry J. Van Dyke, Jun. 6. The Latest Irish Legislation and its Principles; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, October, 1882. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Attitudes of Atheism; by the Editor. 2. The Work of the Ministry; by Rev. S. W. Cope. 3. Moley's Atonement in Christ; by Rev. J. C. Allen. 4. The Genesis of Knowledge. 5. Art and Woman; by Rev. M. Callaway, D.D. 6. Macaulay's Essays; by J. C. Hinton, A.M. 7. Rev. A. L. P. Green, D.D.; by Rev. J. B. Walker, D.D. 8. Meteoric Visitations; by A. Means, D.D., LL.D. 9. Local Preachers; by Rev. David Wilson. 10. American Statesmen: Alexander Hamilton; by the Editor.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1882. (Boston.)—1 The Catacombs of Rome: The Pervading Spirit of their Teachings; by Rev. A. B. Grosh. 2. Critical and Exegetical Notes on Certain Controverted Texts of Scripture: by O. D. Miller, D.D. 3. Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch; by Chaplain G. Collins, U.S.A. 4. Theories of Skepticism—Pantheism; by William Tucker, D.D. 5. The Continent of Atlantis; by Rev. J. P. M'Lean. 6. The Universalist Origin of American Sunday-Schools; by Rev. Richard Eddy. 7. Eternal Regret; by Rev. Stephen Crane. 8. Other World Order; by G. T. Flanders, D.D.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Lyman Beecher on the Atonement—Its Nature and Extent; by Prof. E. D. Morris, D.D. 2. "The Light of Asia;" by the Rev. Robert D. Wilson. 3. The Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records; by Prof. Francis Brown, A.M. 4. The Logical Methods of Prof. Kuenen; by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D. 5. The Origin of Theism; by Prof. Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D.

Prof. Brown's article on the "Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records" is an interesting production by a learned specialist on Assyriology. But, though the work of an expert, and valuable from the facts it presents, he expresses opinions for which he favors us with no proofs, if he has proofs.

We still retain the old-fashioned view that the Sabbath is a divine institution established at the close of the creative week. "The Sabbath was made for man;" and man's first living week, as antitype of the great divine week, closed with the

first Sabbath. We suppose that the constitution of man requires the week and the Sabbath, and that the seven-day work of God is a conception formed very much to authenticate the seven-day work of man to be closed with a sacred rest. That sublime Psalm of the Creation, Gen. i, we can easily imagine, was chanted in the antediluvian Church where Enoch, seventh from Adam, was one time preacher. Hence the cosmogenic conception and the decalogue are counterparts of each other. The Sabbath, being "made for man," was based in the constitution for whom the weekly labor and the Sabbath rest are a duty and a blessing. And thence seven became a sacred number, founded in the nature of man and recognized by God. That this number spread among the various races of men was natural, and no wonder we find it in Babylonia.

We quote Prof. Brown:

In the very first section of the Book of Genesis (ii, 2) God is represented as resting on the seventh day, and in Exodus (xx, 11) the command to observe the Sabbath is based upon God's so resting. Now it became evident, as soon as men were able to study the fundamental notions of the Babylonians and Assyrians with the help of contemporary documents, that the number *seven* was one of great significance to them. Oppert found in an astronomical tablet a connection between the sun, moon, and five planets, and the days of the week; and Schrader argued at length for the week of seven days as original with the Babylonians. But still earlier than this George Smith had made an important discovery. He says: "In the year 1869 I discovered, among other things, a curious religious calendar of the Assyrians, in which every month is divided into four weeks, and the seventh days, or 'Sabbaths,' are marked out as days on which no work should be undertaken." In another place he tells us, more explicitly, that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days are described by an ideogram equivalent to *šulu* or *šulum*, "Hebrew שַׁלְוָה and שָׁלוֹם, meaning 'rest.' The calendar contains lists of works forbidden to be done on these days, which evidently correspond to the Sabbaths of the Jews."

In 1875 appeared the fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," containing some calendar texts, (pl. 32 and 33) and in connection with these Sayce took occasion to confirm the statements of Smith, and gave a translation of the requirements for the seventh day. Here we find, also, the first mention of Boscawen's discovery that *šabattu* is in one place explained as *uud nuh libbi*, "a day of rest of heart." In the following year Sayce published a translation of the whole hemerology, or description of the days, of the intercalary month *Elul*, calling special

attention to the restrictions imposed for each seventh day. Since then there have been repeated allusions to the "Babylonian Sabbath," and some employment of it by a too hasty Apologetics.—Pp. 688, 689.

For some reason not clearly disclosed the professor sets himself to sever the apparent connection between the Babylon seven and the primeval. It seems a useless labor. He merely shows subordinate differences; but who imagines that in the course of ages and racial changes a clean identity would be preserved? That the number *seven* among the antediluvians was transferred to a variety of sacred groups of objects, so that there were weeks of things as well as weeks of days, is abundantly narrated in Genesis. It seems then perfectly a natural result that it should be found in Babylon as follows:

It is quite certain that this number appears among the Babylonians in different connections with such frequency as to prove that a special significance was attached to it. The mention of seven "Planetary Gods," of seven Evil Spirits, the use of seven as a multiplier to express many sins, the occurrence of "seven days" three times in the Chaldean account of the flood—these are well-attested and ancient examples.—P. 690.

Nor are we quite ready to indorse such reasoning as this:

We are nowhere informed that the command to keep the Sabbath was laid upon man at the creation, and there is *nothing irreligious in the supposition that the seven-day week was the result of lunar observations for the Hebrews as well as for other peoples.* In the presence of historical proof that the *Hebrew Sabbath owed its origin,* as a regular institution, to Shemitic or Akkadian *heathen,* the soundest faith need suffer no shock.—Pp. 696, 697.

To attribute the Jewish Sabbath to lunar observation, when the decalogue assigns its origin to the divine creative week, seems truly heroic. Nor are we ready to accept such a statement as this:

It is a groundless assertion to declare that the Babylonian seventh-day observance points back to a primitive revelation.—P. 697.

On the whole, the professor's article seems to us to be a regular battle between his facts and his conclusions.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1882. (London.)—1. Recent Japanese Progress. 2. The Puritan Element in Longfellow. 3. The Hittites and the Bible. 4. Bach and Handel. 5. The Poetry of Rossetti. 6. The Situation in Ireland. 7. The Ministry and Parliament.

October, 1882.—1. The Sieges of Rome in the Sixth Century. 2. Is the Church of England a National Church? 3. Incidents of Land and Pleas for Reform. 4. Is the Belief in Miracles Reasonable? 5. Frederick Ritschl. 6. The House of Obrenovitch. 7. The War in Egypt. 8. Songs of the Italian People.

Edinburgh Review, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Gardiner's Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I. 2. The Ancient Architecture of India. 3. Sir John Lubbock on Ants and Bees. 4. Mozley's Reminiscences. 5. Inland Navigation. 6. Shelley and Mary. 7. Natural Religion. 8. The Egyptian Rebellion.

Westminster Review. October, 1882. (New York.)—1. River Pollution. 2. Count Struensee and Queen Caroline Mathilde. 3. Socialism. 4. The Poetry of Mrs. E. B. Browning. 5. France: The Chamber, the Gambetta Ministry, and its Successors. 6. The Jubilee of the First Reform Act. 7. The British Association for the Advancement of Science. 8. Parliamentary Procedure.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1882. (New York.)—1. Henry Erskine and His Times. 2. The Speaker's Commentary and Canon Cook. 3. Greek Sculpture. 4. Vauban and Modern Sieges. 5. The New Religion of Nature. 6. The Fish Supply of London. 7. Oxford Under the Puritans. 8. Ten Years of Italian Progress. 9. Dr. Pusey and the Church. 10. The Justification of Lord Beaconsfield's Policy.

A work on "Natural Religion" by the author of "Ecce Homo" is a subject of leading articles in the Reviews of the quarter. "Ecce Homo" appeared seventeen years ago, excited great attention, and greatly divided public opinion. All admitted its great ability, while one class condemned its heterodoxy; whilst others, without according with its outside stand-point, found thoughts evolved in it of great value to the Christian argument. To this last class our Quarterly belonged, and our notice aimed at a brief development of its logical results. Sadly has the author receded, under the influence of scientific conclusions, not only from Christ but from God. His position is, in fact, blank atheism; yet the purpose of his book is to find a substitute for God to which he may transfer the name of God, and so claim to be a theist and a maintainer of a "religion." That substitute, which is henceforth to be God, is the Universe, with its matter and its forces. The awe we feel for its stupendousness is worship, the benefits we derive from it work love, and the science and the civilization that result complete the sum-total of a full religion. The "London Quarterly" well

replies that religion requires a personal object of worship, and cannot take up with a mechanical bulk of matter for a God:

We say that it is not a natural religion, but the very reverse. If the history of religion teaches any thing, it is that it is natural to man to look above Nature to some mysterious Power beyond it, toward which his religious emotions may ascend—some Being whom he can believe to be conscious of him and interested in him, and to whom, therefore, he may utter his aspirations and desires with a hope of obtaining sympathy and help. When we look within ourselves and listen to the voice of our own hearts, we find them confirming this lesson of history, by refusing to bestow reverence and worship where sympathy is out of the question, and no response is possible to their emotions of desire, faith, and trust. All real experience attests that nothing is more contrary to human nature, nothing more unnatural, than for the living, palpitating, aspiring soul to lavish its religious affections on that which it knows to be nothing better than lifeless matter and unconscious mechanism. There was, indeed, a time when Nature-worship was possible and even natural; but it was only when living, personal, unseen powers were supposed to animate the physical world, and to use its elements and forces as the vehicle of their own manifestation and action. But science, by sweeping away that ancient belief and reducing the conception of Nature to that of a mechanical system governed by invariable laws, has extinguished such worship, and rendered it henceforth impossible. As soon as Nature ceases to be credited with a conscious spirit, responsive to human desire, the worshiper is impelled by the very constitution of his being to turn away from it with disdain, to carry his prayers and longings elsewhere, and to direct them toward some new object which he believes able to hear his cry, and to be touched with his aspirations and wants. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi*" expresses the inevitable transfer of homage from the dead to the living. We do not, of course, mean that Nature, as expounded by science, ceases to be admirable. Its immensity, its order, its manifold adaptations and relations, its magnificence and beauty, all appeal to the intellectual and æsthetic faculties, in proportion to their development by culture, and are the sources of genuine wonder and delight. But it is not to the *religious* faculty that Nature appeals, until it comes to be regarded as more than a mere physical system, and is understood to be the symbol and veil of a Power greater than itself, whose handiwork or habitation it is, and with whose mysterious presence it is instinct; and hence, in the absence of such a faith, and so long as Nature is viewed with no other eyes than those of science or of taste, it is not possible that the contemplation of it should produce that uplifting of the spirit, that attitude of reverence, that outpouring of desire and reposing of confidence, which religion claims for the object of real worship. If then, by a stretch of language, the sentiment inspired by nat-

Nature is allowed to be styled a religion, we must maintain that, so far from deserving the title of "Natural Religion," it is of all religions the least natural to mankind, the least akin to their mental constitution, or in unison with the voice of their hearts. —Pp. 225, 226.

And the atheistic "Westminster" thus responds to this sad result in pessimism:

As we read, we ask, *Is* there a Power, not Matter, nor Force —but a form of being, infinite, eternal—one called Nature, yet higher than Nature; or is not Nature the Nature we know, multiform, enigmatic, fallacious, and even cruel?—P. 247.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1882. (London.)—1. William Rufus. 2. Siberia. 3. Two American Divines. 4. Hofmann on the Epistle to the Hebrews. 5. The Jewish Question. 6. The Latest Assault on the Fourth Gospel. 7. The Revised Form of Baptism. 8. The Author of "Ecce Homo" on Natural Religion.

In a notice (p. 217) of this Review of a work entitled "The Fire-Baptism of all Flesh," by S. Borton Brown, B.A., the learned editor says: "There is no express statement in this volume as to the nationality of the author, but 'his speech bewrayeth him.' The frequent use of the word 'transfigured,' in a sense not usual with English writers, and some other peculiarities of style, indicate that he is an American; and he is also a Universalist. Of course there is nothing in his nationality to be ashamed of."—P. 217.

Of course it is a very generous concession that our "nationality" is "nothing to be ashamed of;" especially as we had no choice in the selection of our "nationality." We were not asked before born; and "we might have been a Russian," "or a Prussian," instead of an Amer-i-can. But we greatly doubt whether Mr. Brown is an American; as we are assured by the highest authority, Dr. Thayer, of the "Universalist Quarterly," that "there is no such person as S. Borton Brown, B.A., among our clergy; and even if he were a layman, it is hardly possible I should not know something about his book. It is wholly unlikely that an American Universalist would publish his book in London." We also venture a doubt whether the editor knows as much about the distinguishing peculiarities of the "speech" of the countrymen of Lowell and Longfellow as he imagines. We are tolerably well read in English literature, having even in and from our boyhood been familiar with the best authors from Queen Anne's age to the present, and we are

also slightly versed in American literature; but we are yet to learn that the word "transfigured" is used differently in these two literatures. If the free use of an Americanism distinguishes an American, then, singularly and happily enough, the editor is himself an American! For, four pages later, he twice, in two successive sentences, uses an Americanism. The sentences are: "Thirteen ten minutes' sermons or sermonettes of excellent quality. We should be sorry if the sermonette were to become the model of English preaching."—P. 222.

Now this word "sermonette" is an Americanism. This we *know*, because it is a word of *our own personal invention*. It is one of what Dr. Buckley calls our "jaw-breakers," and what Dr. Bledsoe styled our "Whedonese." Three or four years ago a discussion arose in our western Methodist papers as to the originator of this word, and two or three early utterers of the word were designated. We sent a postal to the editor of our St. Louis paper informing him that if he would turn to the "Ladies' Repository" for about the year 1854 he would find a brief sermon of ours entitled "The Sacred Test," and headed "A Sermonette." We had the conscious recollection of the origination, and may safely deny its earlier existence. We have since seen the word canonized by use in "The Catholic Mirror." And now it felicitously serves to show that our brother of the "London Quarterly" is an American; which means "a nationality" not "to be ashamed of."

Calcutta Review, July, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. The Aryan Germ; by H. G. Keene. 2. Hindi, Hindustani, and the Behar Dialects; by Syamachurn Gangooly. 3. Some Hindu Songs and Catches from the Villages of Northern India; by R. C. Temple. 4. Antecedents of the Modern Book; by J. W. Sherer. 5. Mandelslo and Thevenot: Their Travels in India; by E. Rehatsek. 6. New P. Settlements; by J. S. MacIntosh. 7. Phases in the Fortunes of the East India Company; by G. W. Cline, LL.D., F.G.S. 8. Chronicles of the Maravar Country; by J. L. W. 9. Modern Researches into the Origin and Early Phases of Civilization; by R. C. Dutt, C.S. 10. A Resumé of the Various Theories Respecting the Maintenance of the Sun's Light and Heat; by John Hardie.

Indian Evangelical Review, October, 1882. (Calcutta.)—1. Missionary Letters: III. Siam and the Light of Asia; by Rev. T. S. Wynkoop. 2. Patna, Gaya, and Benares—Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity; by the Editor. 3. The Theosophical Society; by Rev. Arthur Theophilus. 4. Swedenborg; by C. E. G. Crawford, Esq. 5. Indian English Churches and Mission Work; by Rev. T. H. Whitamore. 6. The Aborigines and Outcastes of India; by Major Conran. 7. Hindu Caste and its Practical Operation in Travancore; by Rev. S. Mateer.

German Reviews.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Third Number.—*Essay*: 1. Brückner, Composition of the Liturgy in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions. 2. Kleinert, Observations on the Composition of the Liturgy of Clement. 3. Schultz, Religion and Morality in their Co-relation. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. Franke, The Galatian Opponents of the Apostle Paul. 2. Böhl, the Ancient Christian Inscriptions according to the Text of the Septuagint. 3. Usteri, Œcolampadius on Infant Baptism. *Reviews:* 1. Erdmann's, The Epistle of James; and Beyschlag, Critical and Exegetical Manual on the Epistle of James; reviewed by Haupt. 2. Böhl, Christology of the Old Testament; or Exposition of the Most Important Messianic Prophecies; reviewed by Klostermann. 3. Klostermann, Corrections in the Usual Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans; reviewed by M. Kähler.

Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft. (Journal for Ecclesiastical Science.) 1882. Numbers 7 and 8.—Contents: Franz Delitzsch, The Primitive Mosaic Element in the Pentateuch. Zimmer, The Codex Vaticanus in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Burkhardt, New Investigations into Luther's Life. Kawerau, Comments on Janssen's Life of Luther. Engelhardt, Dietrich's Participation in Theological Questions, (1538–1545.) Wendland, the Doctrine of the "Ἀποκατάστασις Πάντων." Heuch, The Official Pastor's Spiritual Care of the Sick. Trantwetter, The Nile in the Superstitions and the Customs of the Egyptians.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie. 1882. Fourth Number. Kuttner, The Value of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason for the Present. Baethgen, The Critical Worth of the Ancient Translations of the Psalms. Weiffenbach, Interpolations to the Introduction of Mark's Gospel. Benrath, The *Summa* of the Holy Scriptures. Barth, Tertullian's View of the Apostle Paul and his Relations to the Primitive Apostles. Benrath, Supplementary Notice to Roselli. Lipsius, On the Acts of Paul and Andrew.

In the "Theological Studies" we find an unusual measure of attention to the ancient liturgy on the part of both Brückner and Kleinert; evidently in sympathy with the interest now manifested among German theologians to impart more life and practical effect to the liturgy of the period, which in some regions seems to have become almost a barren machine. Among the rich treasures of the ancient liturgies which have come down from the early centuries of the Christian Church the so-called Clementinian or Apostolic Liturgy, found in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, holds in every respect a prominent position. Every thing that makes the study of old liturgies attractive and profitable is here found in rich measure. It not only gives the explanation to a multitude of individual points and questions of ancient Church history, but also shows us the clearest objective picture of the customs and arrangements of divine service; and, what is of more importance, imparts the sense and significance which the Church attached to them. And the fact that they are found in this particular book is a certain guarantee for their high age. The

contents of this book are very rich, but because their disposition is so clear and so well arranged for the various degrees of divine service, there is all the wealth displayed, yet no sense of over fullness.

We refer with very peculiar pleasure to another capital article in the same journal, entitled, "Religion and Morality in their Co-relation." In it the author shows with great force that true religion is in very strict relation to morality, and proves it by numerous illustrations; while he at the same time shows that all false religions are more or less in collusion with immoral aims or results. For every sincere member of the Christian Church religion and morality are conceptions inseparably bound together. All Christian people are alike in the conviction that no individual can be called religious who does not make his life conform to moral laws, and that there is no genuine morality that is not rooted in Christian soil. The Old Testament precepts declare that to be upright means to walk before God; but these two parallel conditions have not always been acknowledged, and are not now absolutely necessary in much of the theology and philosophy of the period, especially among the Germans. We need simply refer to the verdicts of Schleiermacher, Kant, and Fichte in regard to the relations between these two ideas. And the emphatic import of this question to the religious antagonisms of the day may be seen in the attention now paid to the subject in recent publications, namely, Kaftan's "Nature of the Christian Religion," and "The Christian Faith and Human Freedom." According to this zealous and luminous author, religion is a practical affair of the human mind, which reposes on the position which we as living beings assume toward the interests that are working within us. The desire for salvation, security, and life, for which man's own power in his worldly relations offers no satisfaction, seeks its fulfillment through a higher power which controls our temporal life. All religion is originally the desire for this security temporally and eternally. In illustration of his position, and development of his aim, the author goes into a learned and lucid exposition of the history and influence of all false religions on the morality of their adherents, and proves conclusively that the natural or artificial religions have never proved a genial soil for the true morality of a people. Even

the Christian religion, when it is a matter of the State, loses greatly in its moral influence, for it is then the State rather than the Church which executes all religious functions. Thus, the ideas of sin and crime, sacredness and justice, are commingled in a way that mars their true character for a believer. A genuine moral dealing of man to man can only spring from an undefiled religion, and not one which may trace any of its duty directly to the State. The whole tendency of this article is quite salutary at a period when the thinking Christians abroad are more than ever examining the influence of State religion on the masses.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) August, 1882.—1. HOLLARD, Alexander Vinet in his Correspondence. 2. MÉNÉZOG, Schleiermacher's Idea of God. 3. DUPIN DE SAINT ANDRÉ, The Algerian Sahara. And, by the same, Historical Notices. Review of the Month by PRESSENSÉ.

September.—1. L. E., A Primate of Spain before the Inquisition. 2. LOYSON, The Psalm Chanted in the Banquet of the Ten Virgins. 3. MALAN. How Treat the Thesis of Conditional Immortality? Review of the Month by PRESSENSÉ.

October.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ. Lecture on the Morality of Interest and the Morality of Obligation. 2. DARTIGUE, The Preaching of Lacordaire. 3. DUPIN DE SAINT ANDRÉ, The Algerian Sahara, (Conclusion.) Literary Chronicle, SABATIER, and Monthly Review by PRESSENSÉ.

Saint André yields to the impulse of his countrymen in treating very largely of the Algerian Sahara in the August and October numbers of the "Review." The French are taking refuge in the "Dark Continent" from all their recent losses both in Europe and at the mouth of the Nile. They very ungracefully give up Egypt only to dive with more vigor into the interior of Africa. Having taken possession of the northern coast pretty well up to the Egyptian line, they now propose entering the interior with a view to utilizing it for national aggrandizement. They do not seem at all abashed by the lamentable failure and sad end of the Flatters expedition, and keep on finding all the consolation they can in their brilliant hope of creating inland seas and constructing railways to the rich regions of Central Africa. And Saint André at least ceases to regard the entrance to the Sahara as inviting. He acknowledges that it is a stern climate for those not born on the soil and acclimated to it. Even the European shivers

there in winter, while the air of summer scorches his lungs. In the greatest heat the thermometer ascends to fearful heights, and the traveler lost in the sands would give a kingdom for a cold bath. But water is very rare south of the Atlas range, as the few torrents that descend from the mountains are soon lost in the sands. Even on the southern portion of the present territory of French Algeria one can journey for ten days without reaching a well.

This indispensable water the French are fast obtaining by sinking Artesian wells, and where they are successful they thus obtain great control over the rude inhabitants and the nomads of the desert, who have an immense respect for men who can draw from the bosom of the earth a jet of pure water that springs forth like a captive delighted to find its liberty. The enthusiasm among the rude natives has at times been touching. In their joy they sacrifice a goat on the border of the well, and invoke on the French the benediction of Allah. Young girls hasten to dance at the festival, and poets sing the birth of the miraculous spring.

Notwithstanding the sad fate of the expedition of Colonel Flatters, the French still hope to construct a line of rail across this Algerian Sahara as far as Timbuctoo, and are largely encouraged in this hope by their success in these Artesian wells; for without water they cannot effect the construction nor run their engines, unless electricity should come to their aid. Indeed, the great questions are fuel and water. And but a few superlatively enthusiastic Frenchmen can even imagine the possibility of laying the rail across a barren and burning desert of which they scarcely as yet know the borders. But Duponchel, chief engineer of roads and bridges, declares that he can go from Algiers to Timbuctoo as easily as from Paris to Tours. But this is not bluster; it is something more though: to the credit of said engineer be it said that these wild words were uttered before, and not after, the total destruction, even to the last man, of the expedition sent out to examine the route and report. One thing seems clear in the present humor of the French nation, and that is, that either in success or failure a good many Frenchmen are destined to leave their bones on the desert before this great object is effected.

Pressensé, in his "Monthly Review," gives a very interesting

account of a reunion in Switzerland of all Protestant Christians in the interest of pure Bible Christianity, in which the French Protestants largely engaged, on the ground that to religious thought there are no boundary lines. And they found in this Helvetian Republic their own troubles in the Church even magnified. The Swiss clergy are remarkable for their virility and cordiality, so that the French visitors found it hard to distinguish them from laymen. Their frankness, theological culture, and delicate mixture of patriotism and piety, were very noted and remarkable. And this judgment of Pressensé is gratifying and encouraging; for these men have to struggle with a disease that seems almost incurable.

The system of union of Church and State is fraught with peril for conscientious and ardent Christians. The radical rule seems to lead to violent results obtained more through policy than religion. The political platform rules the Church more and more; and all religious guarantees disappear in the presence of universal suffrage concerning spiritual things. The *vox populi* is no longer the *vox Dei* when it commands the suppression of the Apostles' Creed in public worship. And the proposition to make baptism optional before entrance into the Church is very likely to be adopted by the Synod. The evangelical element in the Church is alarmed at this situation, and feels that it must soon renounce the connection between Church and State if matters go on thus. As yet the two parties meet in the same Synod, but this cannot last when their tendencies are so diametrically opposite. The most practical debate of the session was a grave indication of this; it was nothing less than the confirmation of all children at a fixed age, and their introduction as Church members *nolens volens*. The scruples of the evangelical wing of the Church are very strong in this matter, and the same trouble came up in the recent official Synod of the French Reformed Church. This gathering in of the multitude in flocks is so distasteful to many of the Swiss pastors that they have rebelled against it, and are likely to get into trouble on that account, as the State has the political right to order them to carry out the ordinances according to State law, and the ungodly find quite a pleasure in forcing them so to do. All the Swiss assemblies have agitated this question, turn by turn, and it now reaches the grand Synod. The very

fact that these men needed defense was humiliating, but they received it in full measure from the French pastors of Basel and Neufchatel, who threw a flood of light on the evil and demoralizing results of this custom. It is very clear that Christian conscience will not much longer tolerate a custom that puts all religion in peril. These same suffering Churches are also discussing the best means of retaining the benefit of Bible-reading in the Churches. Mark! in the Churches, not the schools. Where such a discussion is necessary, it is high time to say to the State, Hands off of the Churches!

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A REVIVAL AMONG THE WALDENSES.

The Waldenses have of late displayed an unusual amount of activity, apparently spurred on by the presence and labors in Italy of the various missionaries from other lands. For years there has been no such significant synod as that recently held in Torre Pelice, the seat of their most important ecclesiastical institutions, at the entrance to their valleys. This vigor seemed to be anticipated by their friends and sympathizers from without, as they were favored by the visits of fraternal delegates from other Church bodies in larger numbers than ever before.

England and Scotland, their old friends, were well represented; France sent some members of the Reformed Church, and from Switzerland came a greeting from the Society for the Observance of the Sabbath. The German Evangelical Association of Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestants of Austria, the Moravians from Herrnhut, and the Presbyterians on the Cape of Good Hope, were all there by proxy. The "Waldenses of the North," the suffering Christians from Livonia on the Baltic, sent also their greeting to the "Waldenses of the South." Some of these brought also very substantial aid, namely, the delegate from the Cape $2,500, and their Scotch friends raised their gift for the year to about $100,000. All this kindness so delighted the Waldenses that they devoted three days to the hearing of messages of sympathy and fraternity from abroad.

When they finally reached their regular routine business it appeared that every congregation had an encouraging report to make of their religious condition, and some were peculiarly gratifying. The Church in Naples reported a collection of two dollars and fifty cents per member for the year, and hopes by next year to be able to assemble in its own chapel. There are now sixty-six pastors engaged in active work, and five are on the emeritus list. In their theological school at Florence

eleven students are now pursuing their studies, and eleven others are engaged in advanced studies in Scotland, England, France, and Germany. The pastor from Milan reported a grant of three thousand francs from the Minister of Instruction to his congregation for the purpose of finishing the façade of their church. But the most significant move of the synod for this year was the resolve to enter on the work of missions to the heathen. The delegate of the French Missionary Society to the Bassutos, in South Africa, had made a tour in the valleys of the Waldenses and awakened their interest in the mission cause. In consequence of this the pastor of the Waldensian chapel in Nice had resolved to devote himself to the work, and appeared before the synod to obtain permission to enter the field. His simple and fervent words, as he explained the importance of missionary effort, were received with great enthusiasm, and by a unanimous vote he was granted a leave of absence for said purpose. The Waldensian Synod placed him, for the beginning, at the disposition of the Parisian Missionary Society, to become thus initiated into the methods, and be sustained in the incipiency of the work. He will go with his wife to the already established mission to the Bassutos, while the French missionary at that post will go on further, and establish a new post on the Zambesi. The foreign delegates present gave a hearty Amen to this resolution, and bade the Waldenses God speed, and a blessing in this new Christian enterprise.

THE FRENCH IN MADAGASCAR.

The French seem quite inclined to rule or ruin in Madagascar, and have for some time been nourishing a dangerous conflict with the government that may interfere very much with the important Protestant missionary work on that island. The claims of France on Madagascar are quite old. Louis XIII., in 1642, placed the island under his own protection, first with the name of Ile Dauphine, and later as Oriental France. Cardinal Richelieu fitted out a French trading company with rich privileges, and took possession of the island as a central point for French rule in India. They established forts and factories on the coast, but could not penetrate into the interior. Under the guidance of the famous minister, Colbert, the plantations founded on the coast were very flourishing. But a general rebellion among the natives against this foreign invasion and usurpation rooted out the French intruders from the entire island except the single Fort Dauphin on the southern point. This uprising of the natives brought things to a standstill for a long time. In the eighteenth century renewed efforts were made at colonization, but they all failed. In the year 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, the English took possession of Madagascar as a dependence of the island of Mauritius, and it required long negotiations before France again acquired a foothold there. In the meanwhile English merchants had taken possession, and exerted great influence there. In 1829 the French tried to drive them out by a military expedition, which was a total failure. Since that time the French have endeavored to undermine

the English, by obtaining influence over the Hovas rulers, but the present queen seems to wish to have nothing to do with them, since she has accepted the good offices of the English missionaries, and introduced some astonishing reforms, and virtually adopted Christianity as the belief of her people. In order to counteract this work, the French have sent the Jesuit missionaries out there in great force, and it is these who are making all the present trouble. The people and the princes are displeased with their methods, and wish them away, and they in turn appeal to their government for support. Five French vessels are hovering around the coast threatening the capital, and landing at certain ports and running up their flag. The queen is appealing to England for protection, as are the English missionaries, and it is likely that the visit of an embassador to both these courts will result in measures of relief to the queen and people of the island.

GERMAN MISSION WORK IN CHINA.

The Germans are renewing their interest in Chinese missions, which were formerly so popular among them, under the influence of the wonderful travels of Gutzlaff and his thrilling accounts of his experiences among that people. Wangemann, one of their missionary magnates, calls their attention to the fact that so much has been done there since 1850, and that, in many respects, the land is now ripe for earnest work. He asserts that the prospects are so good for a plentiful harvest that German Christians can no longer treat the fact with indifference; they have now no choice. If they fall back and leave the entire work to others, they will be guilty of willful neglect of duty. In 1872 the German Missionary Society of Barmen, the headquarters of a certain phase of Protestant work, established a mission among the Hakkas, and they now need means to carry it on further. They bought a house in Canton from the Rhenish Missionary Society, and sent assistants. The sum needed for the support of this station the present year will be about $20,000, and not the tenth part of this has yet been raised. Two associations for Chinese missions in Berlin and Stettin, which had nearly suspended their labors, are now resuming their activity, and, among other measures to stir up the people, are publishing a journal entitled "The Gospel in China." Thus far the success of this project has not corresponded to the importance of the undertaking, but still its friends hope on, and will not give up the cause. A new impetus will doubtless be given to it by the late increase of German trade in China and Japan. During the last few years the Germans have increased their commercial interest in the eastern seas, and are now sending their war vessels thither to protect the many Germans flocking there in various capacities. And Germany is even supplying war vessels to the Chinese from her own shipyards on the Baltic. This commercial activity will naturally react on the religious community, and be an inducement for renewed efforts. The adoption of the Hakka mission by a North German society will produce the effect desired, and create an enthusiasm among the people

of Christian circles to rise to the level of their duty. They certainly have every thing ready for them. The clearing of the forest is over, and the tilling of the fields has begun; if they now cannot come forward and at least keep pace with their commerce they will be lukewarm indeed.

THE MILITARY CONGREGATIONS IN ITALY.

This is the peculiar title of a very interesting work being carried on in Rome, and likely to be extended to other points in Italy, among the soldiers of the Italian standing army. It began ten years ago, soon after the occupation of the new government with Rome as the capital, and in many respects it has been blessed above other Christian work among Italian Protestants. An Italian soldier, by name Capellini, was brought to see the beauty of the Gospel by fortunately finding an old, half-destroyed Bible. He soon after began to call his fellow-soldiers to religious meetings for the purpose of Bible reading and prayer, and in a little while he succeeded in organizing an independent military congregation, which has gone on growing from year to year, until it has now become quite an institution among the soldiers of the regiments garrisoned at Rome. As fast as the discharged soldiers leave, new recruits come in, and thus he has always a new community on which to operate, while his former men go to their respective homes all over the land, and thus carry the seeds of the Gospel with them. It is this fact which makes the work a missionary effort of the most effective kind. The growth of his congregation induced Capellini to accept for his work the chapel of the Wesleyan Mission Church, where it has received aid and encouragement from the workers in that enterprise. But the erection of new garrisons far from the center of the city has made it less convenient for the soldiers to gather there, and it has been found necessary to construct a new chapel in the neighborhood of the soldiers' homes. Capellini has undertaken this with a courageous heart, and decided on a site and the size of his church. The entire expense will be about forty thousand dollars, and to obtain this he is making a call on the Protestant Churches of Europe generally, besides what he may obtain in Rome proper. The soldiers themselves can do but little because of the meagerness of their pay, but they will certainly do their share. The army chaplains of Protestant Germany have undertaken the work of collecting funds in their territory, and will, without doubt, do something good; and Switzerland and the Protestants of France are expected to take part in the work. The most aid will probably come from England and Scotland, especially the latter country, which has so distinguished itself for its generous aid to mission work in Italy since the whole country has been open to the Bible. That the work will pay is certain, for each soldier who has learned to read the Bible will go home to read it to his little community.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Decidedly the finest Missionary Magazine published in Europe is that under the control of Dr. Warneck as editor-in-chief, assisted by Drs. Grundemann and Christlieb. It is a monthly, begun in 1872, and is distinguished from other magazines of Germany in taking a broad and scientific ground, and being the special organ of no body or work. It therefore bears the title of "Universal Missionary Journal," and is fully meeting the measure of its promise given at the outset. It occupies a sort of neutral ground, but is pervaded with a living Christian spirit, so that the dozen regular contributors to its pages all seem to work together as one man. In its historical articles it leads us to the origin of Missions throughout the world, and gives a quarterly report of statistics and work. There are, then, treatises on so-called missionary geography, on the progress made in the various languages, giving them form and worth for religious efforts, and on the characteristics and traits of the various nationalities among which the missionaries are laboring. Quite an important section is devoted to the criticism of new works that appear in the mission cause. It has thus gained so high a scientific reputation that the theologians cannot afford to do without it, and some of the universities, such as Berlin, Bonn, and Halle, have been by it induced to make the investigation of missions and the study of missionary procedure a special branch of labor. Thus, missionary workers in Germany cannot afford to do without it, and the friends of missions throughout the world always find something to attract their special attention.

The question about the ten lost tribes does not yet seem to be exhausted. The latest work on this subject has recently appeared in Madrid, from the hands of Santiago Perez Junquera, who bases his work on an old publication of the year 1650. The author of this book was Menassah Ben Israel, a Jew of Amsterdam, who gives the story of a co-religionist in the following terms: In 1641, a Spanish Jew, named Levy, journeyed in that part of South America known as Ecuador. In crossing the Cordilleras, his attendant Indians complained of the severity of the Spaniards, and expressed the confident hope that a people hidden in the forests would break the cruel yoke. Levy followed the hint given him by his guides, and, after a while, found this isolated folk, and was convinced that they were Jews. He made himself known as such when there. Indians greeted him as a brother, and led him to a great river, where he found a settlement of people repeating Hebrew Bible verses and bearing the names of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, etc., and they finally confided to him the principal events of their history. God had led them, through signs and wonders, into the land, where they were at first cruelly treated by the Indians, but over these they gained such signal victories in battle that the natives looked upon them as protected by a higher power, and at last awarded them a retired province, where

they might live unmolested until the time when they would come forth as the rulers of the world. This strange story seemed to interest the curious in this matter, for the book has quite a sale among those who would still pursue the fate of the lost tribes, and find them in this apparent remnant of a nation that has, in its turn, also disappeared.

The recent census in the German Empire confirms the rapid growth of the Protestant Church and the comparatively slow increase of the Catholics. In Prussia proper, however, and some of the minor States, the contrary is the fact. In the whole imperial domain there were, in 1866, of Protestants, about 24,000,000; in 1871, 25,000,000, and in 1880, 28,000,000. The increase of the Protestants would have been very much larger, however, in various provinces of North Germany, were it not for the massive emigration that has taken place from those lands. In Prussia, in 1880, there were, of Protestants, 17,645,848; of Catholics, 9,265,283, and of Jews, 363,790. The Protestants in the Rhine Provinces are increasing faster than the Catholics, while in the pure Protestant districts the Catholics are on the increase. Thus, the minority, wherever it may be, seems to be gaining ground. The number of Catholics is increasing somewhat in Saxony—a Protestant country with a Catholic king and court. This may be caused by the influx of laborers on the railroads and in the mines.

The Moravians have had quite a jubilee over the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their mission work, and have, among other things, been looking over the statistics of their extensive labors. Since the day when the first missionaries, Dober and Nitschmann, left their homes in Hernnhut to carry the gospel to the negro slaves of St. Thomas, over two thousand brothers and sisters have gone forth to carry the banner of the Cross and the Gospel to all quarters of the world, and some of the most remote and desolate. With some failures and misfortunes, the Moravians may look back on their wonderful work as under the special care of an over-ruling Providence, to whom they returned heartfelt thanks amid their rejoicings. These were also shared by the entire Protestant Church, because many of its branches had been ready in their assistance to the Moravian missions, and therefore many representatives were present in Hernnhut at their jubilee. It was a very happy thought to resolve to build, in the same island of St. Thomas, where their work began, a native church as a thank-offering for their great success. The collections for this purpose made good progress during the festive days, and bid fair to be ample. The Moravians will ever be of blessed memory in modern Gospel history for what they have accomplished in the cause of missions, and the true Christian example which they set to the Christian world.

Gerhard Rohlfs, the famous German traveler in Africa, has just published in Weimar, in his official capacity as authorized agent of King John, of Abyssinia, an appeal to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London. He pleads for an early settlement of all differences

between Egypt and Abyssinia through English intervention. He claims that Egypt is still a land where slavery flourishes through the activity of war and the native dealers, while Abyssinia is a Christian land in which slavery is not tolerated, but where it is very difficult to extinguish it entirely until all differences can be settled between the two countries. He claims that some man of the energy and magnanimity of Gordon must again be placed at the head of affairs in Soudan; and, in conjunction with civil order along the Nile, he appeals to the British government to grant to Abyssinia what she has clear natural right to, namely, a port on the Red Sea, from whose coast she is now strangely cut off. A glance at the map will show that this quite considerable land borders on the sea for a long distance, within a few miles, with the sea almost in sight, but with no national right on its banks. The justice of such a petition is the more clear when we reflect that, but a short time ago, the Powers granted this same request to Montenegro on the Adriatic, and maintained it by military intervention. King John would get along better with Egypt and with England were he less inclined to be exacting and tyrannical toward any foreigners who may happen to cross his path. He has not been any too just toward the missionaries, except those who are engaged in evangelical work among the many Jews of his realm.

The Protestant French *littérateurs* in the theological field are quite active in bringing out new works, as may be seen from the latest announcement of the book firm of Fischbacher, No. 38 Rue de Seine, Paris, where all the works of the Reformed Church may be found, and quite easily obtained by mail, if ordered by letter, with postal money-order inclosed, at the rate of five francs to the dollar. Among these we notice: "*Etude Homilétique sur Adolphe Monod et Lacordaire*," by Louis Comte; "*L'Idée de Dieu*," by Chastand; "*L'Année Pastorale*," by Bonneton: "*L'Eglise sous la Croix*," by Benoît; "*L'Eglise Vaudoise des Vallées du Piémont*," treating of this Church from its origin down to our day—a very valuable and interesting book, price 2¾ francs. Among the smaller books or *brochures* we would name "*La Tache Missionaire de l'Eglise*." (The Missionary Task of the Church.) by Boegner, Director of the Mission House of Paris; and another missionary help is the Manual of Protestant Missions for 1883, published by the Mission House of Basel, showing the growing interest that the Protestant Church is taking in missions.

A German firm is now publishing an illustrated edition of the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis. The work of this humble monk is now read throughout the world more than other religious books, except the Bible itself, and it is still being published in new and attractive forms. There is scarcely a language of Christendom into which it has not been translated. There are said to be two thousand different Latin editions, and one thousand French, of which the Library of Paris possesses no less than seven hundred; and new German translations are continually appearing, showing that this golden book is dear to all Christian con-

sions, because it speaks the language of the entire undivided Christian Church, and the device of this unpretentious Christian man, "*Ama nesci,*" (Remain willingly unknown,) has proved that the meek and humble shall be exalted. The authorship was for a long time contested, and even now, in the present year, the first journal of Germany, the "*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung,*" has devoted several articles to the incontestable proof that it is from the heart and pen of the French Parliament, being drawn into the contest, decreed that the book should only be published with the name of Thomas à Kempis as author.

As we look over the curricula of the current semester of the German Protestant Theological Schools, now lying before us, we are struck with the wealth of Bible teaching in the old Fatherland, and wonder that it does not bear more fruit. At Basel, we find Overbeck, on the Church History of the Middle Ages; in Berlin, Dorner is treating of Systematic Theology, Piper on Monumental Church History, and Brückner on the System of Christian Ethics; at Berne, Oetli is reading lectures on Eschatology, and Steck on the Life of Jesus; in Bonn, we recognize with pleasure the names of Christlieb and Lange, the former on Practical Theology, and the latter on Ethics. The bulletin for Breslau starts off with the Encyclopedia of Theology, by Meuss, and that of Dorpat with York, on the Exegesis of the Prophets; Erlangen presents the names of Frank, on Dogmatics; Giessen, that of Stade, on the Exposition of Genesis, and Göttingen, that of Ritschl, on Symbolics. At Halle we miss the precious name of Tholuck, and find those of Köstlin and Kähler; and then the list runs on and on, with subjects and teachers *ad infinitum:* Greifswald, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipsic, with Kahnis, Luthard and Delitzsch, Marburg, Rostock, Strasburg, Tübingen, Vienna, Zurich, and Upsala. Some of these are not in Germany proper, but they are, nevertheless, German schools.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Life and Letters of James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with Glances at his Contemporaries and at Events in Church History. By Rev. George G. Smith, A.M. 12mo. pp. 562. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. John W. Burke & Co.: Macon, Ga. 1882. 1

This admirable biography is a fine counterpart to the life of Bishop Janes from the pen of Dr. Ridgaway. There were not wanting some traits of personal resemblance between the two men, and both were worthy the permanent portraiture so well furnished by their two biographers. So central a figure was Bishop Andrew in one of the most painful passages in our eccle-

siastical and national history, that it was due to him, to his friends, and to the truth of history, that his personal conduct and character should be fully elucidated. Mr. Smith has well performed his work, and the result is that Bishop Andrew is not only cleared from the mists of prejudice that to some eyes have hung around him, but he appears beyond all doubt to have been a man of eminent, personal piety, whose heart and soul were consecrated, and whose life was hid with Christ in God. The history of such a man, as well as the man himself, is a boon to our universal Methodism and to Christianity itself.

His biographer tells us, with some piquancy, that his paternal ancestry was Puritan, derived from England through New England, where Osgood is still a conspicuous name. Born without educational advantages, he was never a scholar, and his first attempts seemed to indicate that he would never become a preacher. Yet he had filled but two "hard-scrabble" circuits when he was appointed to the city of Charleston. The metropolis was an important but trying station. Methodism was a very humble intrusion into a very proud city. More than half his parishioners were negroes. His description, written long years afterward, of the levee room in his parsonage, is unique and suggestive: "Here you met every week either stewards or leaders, white or black, and here the preacher had to hear all cases of complaint and trial, especially among the blacks. To this room also came, at stated intervals, all who wished to join on trial. For the purpose of attending to all other matters, one day in the week was set apart, and the preachers had to be there all day. Imagine a room, dear reader, raised only a few inches from the ground, with high fences on all sides, crowded just as full as it could hold on a night in July or August, and the preacher sitting there till bell-ringing, and tell me, didn't he have a sweet time of it? Then when he emerged from this bath-house, and sought to cool himself in the upper story, imagine him, half melting, seeking to refresh himself on his pillow. He enters a room some twelve feet square, with one or two windows, after carefully adjusting his mosquito net, and seizing a favorable moment for rushing into bed, and carefully stopping every crevice through which the serenaders might possibly find access to him, he stretches himself to get cool and go to sleep. What think you of his prospects? The parsonage yard, if it had any, was an encroachment on the old graveyard. If you walked out tombstones were under your feet or all around you; if you seated yourself at your window

and looked out to enjoy the beauties of a moonlight prospect, tombstones every-where arrested your gaze, so that ours might properly have been called the family among the tombs." The appointment to Charleston was thus largely and tryingly a mission to negroes.

Our Southern brethren at the present day often largely quote, in self-vindication, their heroic devotion to negro Christianization. We have ever recognized gladly their record on that subject. One of our first movements, after our appointment to the editorship of this Quarterly, years ago, was to procure from a Southern pen a full article on the enterprise of Southern Methodism among the Negro population. We have ever thought that there was some wickedness on the part of our old abolition friends in saying that their Negro missions were established purely in the interests of slavery. It was a bitter taunt for them to say that the missionary was simply an agent of the slave-holder to preach to the slave the duty of submission to his oppressor, and thus perpetuate the system. Some fatal coloring to this sharp logic was given by our Southern brethren themselves when they took the ground that they must maintain slavery in order to gain access to the slave. The abolitionist triumphantly quoted their words with "See, now, they themselves declare that their gospel is the gospel of slavery!" More than once was, in that day, the Northern defender of Southern Methodism shut up by such a quotation. But this missionary zeal unquestionably preceded the abolition excitement, and was started in the interests of a most earnest Christianity. Andrew, no doubt, submitted to his sultry air-bath, perfumed with unhealthy odor, for the souls of his Negro parishioners, with no thought for the perpetuity of the system that so nearly suffocated him. Indeed, in after years, so strong was the interest of this saintly man for the spiritual interests of the dark race that before his election to the episcopacy he seriously contemplated becoming a missionary to Africa. We have ever felt that a full measure of honor should be accorded to Southern Methodism for her missionary labors with the oppressed people.

After his pastorate in Charleston Mr. Andrew moved through the higher order of appointments, distinguished for his eloquence, his ability as a writer, his administrative success, and his piety. Much to the indignation of some of his official superiors he contracted an early and happy marriage, and was one of the first to break up the customary sequence that a preacher's marriage was always followed by a location, a sequence arising from the fact

that his salary was inadequate to the support of a family. The conference thereby had to be made up mainly of bachelors, young and old. We have heard, through oral tradition we believe, that Asbury made one of his terse apothegms in these words, namely, "I wish the devil and the women would let my preachers alone." He was thrice married in the course of his life, and in each case was wise in his choice and happy in his marriage relations. He was, in his maturer years, very clearly a man of courteous manners and of warm and mellow affections. His letters, written to his wife during the trying days when his marriage with her would seem to be the cause of his trials, are rich with the most assuring expressions of love.

Mr. Smith discusses the dealing of the General Conference of 1844, in the main, with excellent temper. We could wish to approach that question at this time with the same calm fairness with which we would treat an occurrence of two centuries ago. There are two or three points, however, in which we think his views historically incorrect. We think he fully shows that Bishop Andrew had no desire for the episcopal office; that he accepted it with sincere reluctance, from a sense of duty; and that he would gladly have resigned it in 1844 to secure the unity of the Church. He had no anticipation at the time of his marriage that any serious difficulty would arise from his marital connection with slavery. His demeanor during the discussions was becoming, and we do not think it right to affirm that "he divided the Church." But the point of issue we must here take with our author is this: His connection, even by marriage, with slavery was in contrariety to *the understanding which had always existed* between the two sections of the Church, that the episcopal office should not be held by a slave-holder. It is of no use for our biographer to tell us how men who were slave-holders were appointed to office and honors, such as Capers and Olin; neither of those men could have been elected to the episcopate for this sole reason. The reason was this, that to admit slavery into the episcopate was to surrender the last remnant of our historic protest against slavery, and to admit the supremacy of the slave-power. Hence it was not "a few extremists," but old stereotype conservatives like Nathan Bangs of New York, and John Collins of Baltimore, with almost their entire delegations that took firm position for the old understanding. They did this, not in sympathy with so-called "modern abolitionism," but, as Dr. Bangs expressed it, from "the old antislavery feeling;" that is, on the basis of the

old protest against the supremacy and even the existence of slavery, inherited from Wesley, Coke, Asbury, and the Methodist fathers, fragmentary traces of which stood still unerased upon the pages of our Discipline. According to Dr. Smith's own statement Mr. Andrew was aware that he was elected because he was a non-slaveholder. His self-depreciatory statement at the time of his election was that he was chosen on account of his "poverty;" that is, he was elected because he was a non-slaveholder, and he was a non-slaveholder, not from conscience, but because he was too poor to buy a slave. He understood, therefore, that as Bishop he stood upon a non-slaveholding platform. Why? Because, as the Northern delegates ever claimed, it was hitherto understood by both sides that the Episcopacy was to be clear from slavery. Bishop Andrew, therefore, appears to have stood in the Episcopate in violation of the known understanding upon which he was elected. Mr. Smith says, and we fully believe his statement, that Bishop Andrew "wished to resign." Tradition says that during the early days of the General Conference he wore a very despondent air. But a movement among the Southern delegations took place that changed the situation, and also seems to have changed his demeanor. They, in solid body, required him to stand firm. We think their position was, in the circumstances, about right. It was truly, as Mr. Seward said, "an irrepressible conflict," and the proper time for the issue had come. Slavery and freedom must meet face to face. Behind either party in this General Conference there were irresistible forces requiring each to firmly meet the inevitable contest. Disintegration and ruin threatened the party that shrunk. The best result in the case possible took place. The Southern section withdrew, and formed a new organization, and the two Churches, each, maintained their own entirety. This is not saying that both sides were right; or that they were both equally right or wrong. The relative rightness depends upon the previous question whether slavery is right. If slavery is right, then the effort to force it into our Episcopacy, and over the Church and nation, was right. If slavery is a great moral wrong, the enemy of human advancement, then the North was right and the South fearfully wrong. On that question there now is in every part of Christendom, except our South, a terrible unanimity. The great national organic sin itself, in which each party had its share, was, in its permanence and power, of too large a magnitude for that Conference to undertake to manage. Taking things as

they were, their only problem was, What shall be done for the nonce? And that problem they solved with singular courtesy of discussion and wisdom of result.

There is another point in Mr. Smith's history of these transactions which of itself qualifies our commendation of his work to our readers South and North. It is the injurious attempt to perpetuate the historical untruth that the General Conference actually or "virtually" deposed Bishop Andrew from the Episcopate. The Conference neither intended nor did any such thing. A motion was made asking him to resign, and the Conference voted it down. That of itself proves that there was no purpose that he should vacate the Episcopal office. They wished him, not to vacate the Episcopate, but to vacate his connection with slavery. They found him involved in an impediment to the performance of his Episcopal duties, and they simply said to him, *Unload and go on.* They ordered his name to be continued as Bishop in the Discipline. They continued his salary. There were Northern laymen standing ready to indemnify him for the loss of the slaves, thus making it perfectly easy for him to leave the Conference a perfectly unembarrassed, perfectly respected, Bishop of the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church. All the obstruction against this result was interposed by himself and his friends. Then we say to all the world, that for him and his friends first to interpose a voluntary obstacle, and then turn around and charge that he was "deposed," is a historical untruth not justified by that equivocal "virtual." And the worst of it is that in the conversational and even editorial version of the story in the South, circulated by "extreme men" to fire the Southern heart, this nice little word "virtual" drops out, and the pocket edition of the legend is, "they deposed Bishop Andrew." In giving permanence to this untruth, qualified or unqualified, Mr. Smith wrongs his own people much more than he does us.

Again we have (p. 378) the following unnecessary misstatement in regard to the organization of the new Church at Louisville: "So was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, organized without revolution or schism or secession under consent given by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Now the "General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church" never gave any such "consent." It persistently and positively withheld all sanction or permission; and nearly the entire Northern delegation, we believe, held that it had no power to "con-

sent." It threw all the responsibility for the withdrawal itself upon the withdrawing body. There is a wide difference between saying: "Yes, I 'consent,' you may go;" and saying, "*You* say you must go: you go, then, on your own responsibility; but we shall not fight you for it, or chase after you and contend; we will, for peace' sake, keep within a particular limit, and let you alone after you have performed the unauthorized departure." Permission to go is one thing: provision for the unpermitted going, should it persistently and willfully take place, is another thing. We believe that the Southern Methodists did the best possible thing when they organized the new Church. We believe, and have never seen it denied by any authority in our own Church, that that new Church was from the beginning a legitimate Church of Christ. We think it was organized by a justifiable secession and revolution; and we rejoice that the property of the old Church was divided to the new organization. Her origin and existence need no misconstructions of past facts and documents for their vindication. She has done and is still doing a work that none else can do; and in that work our prayers are, and ever have been, all for her peace, prosperity, and power.

The manifesto from Louisville announcing the severance of the Church was duly followed by the gun of Fort Sumter announcing the severance of the nation. Bishop Andrew had been an old Whig, and he disapproved the opening this war upon the national existence, but sustained his section when it assumed to his eye the form of an invasion of land and home. As chief pastor he labored with heroic persistence for the integrity of the flock. He hailed the return of peace with impulses for reunion which it was unfortunate that the South did not obey. It was a singular and perhaps a providential thing that the man who is credited with severing the South from the North was a man of Puritan blood, of New England descent, and approaching most nearly, perhaps, of any of his compeers, to being "a Southern man with Northern principles."

To the saintliness of his character there is abundant testimony. He lived in and breathed an atmosphere of prayer. He was a patron of the poor, especially of the colored race. Yet though bearing a life of consecration he shrunk from formal profession. His third wife made the unique remark, "I know I am by the blood of Christ cleansed from sin, and yet I know that he is better than I am, and he will not say he is." And of this wife we have an account of singular pathos and beauty. She is de-

scribed as a woman of rare character, yet, in mature years, she was mentally incapacitated by softening of the brain. Yet amid the mental ruin her religious powers towered aloft. "She spoke of Jesus as sweetly and prayed to him as beautifully as she had ever done." But our learned physiologists can explain all that. With "victory, victory," on his lips, and leaving a sacred radiance on his dead face, the holy Bishop departed to his reward. He was entombed among his people at Oxford, Ga., close by Emory College, of which he had long been a trustee. His face on the frontispiece of the volume is marked and manly, with a tinge of sadness as if of sorrowful recollections, and eyes heavy as if their brows were burdened with the weight of many cares. Blessed be the memory of the just.

The Prophets of Israel, and their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B. C. Eight Lectures. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 414. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

We are here furnished by Robertson Smith with the new scheme of biblicism according to Evolution. It is the programme of the origin, growth, and completion of our religion by natural derivation. We are directed to the seminal point where it took origin, to its early germination in the ovum, its gradual development into maturity and completion. It brings religious evolution into accordance with nebular and animal unfolding, so that the theory of the universe—planetary, racial, and spiritual—is made to keep step to one harmonious music. Science and religion are thus triumphantly reconciled, and Darwin fairly is seated in Moses' chair.

In the era of the Hebrew Judges, we are here told, the little Shemitic nations of Syria, including Israel as one, worshiped each his own god with profound devotion. Each nation admitted without doubt the reality of the gods of its neighbor nations, but valorously maintained that its own god was strongest, and could whip any one if not all of his rivals. Of Israel the god was Jehovah, worshiped, not with prayer, but with spontaneous and irregular sacrifices and ceremonies. Gradually, however, with this worship of Jehovah some moral ideas became associated. As in theistic physical evolution a divine force comes in contact with the subject, and directs its peculiar development, so Jehovah came into personal relation with the Israelite clan, and modified its unfolding and history. Israel was at first one of those hovering hordes that hung on the north-eastern margin of Egypt's

having really none but an accidental connection with the kingdom, untinctured by any of its civilization, and ready, in due time, to float off and take possession by invasion of some of the territories of the more north-easterly clans. But the moral development, divinely originating with the Jehovistic wanderers, prepared them, after a little monarchy had given firmness to their body, under the tuition of their prophets, for a great but peculiar historic future. Prophet after prophet arose, announcing higher and purer views; and Jehovah grew, in the Hebrew mind, from a mere pugnacious patron of a barbarous tribe to a supreme ruler in righteousness over the nations of the entire world. This development became, then, strictly a case of "the survival of the fittest." When the tribes were dispersed and Judah went into captivity, so powerful had this religion of Jehovah grown that it survived the political power, and the nation became a Church. This consummation was finally attained under Ezra by the introduction of the Levitical law of complicated rites concentrated into one locality, the temple at Jerusalem. Israel thereby became a sacerdotal body, and in due time out of its life sprang He who is the true Redeemer of the world.

In taking this starting-point at the lowest era of Israel's history our readers and his will of course perceive that the Pentateuch is mainly ignored. There could have been no recorded Genesis narrating how the whole creation was the work of Elohim, God of Israel. Equally non-existent in Israel must have been the story of the fall of the first man of the human race under the eye of Jehovah Elohim. And the wonders performed by Moses for the express purpose of showing to mankind Jehovah's supremacy over even the gods of supreme Egypt must have been a romance of a later inventive priesthood. With these records really in his possession Israel's monotheism would have been primeval, supreme, and sole, admitting no recognition of petty tribal gods. The race must have started with a primordial Edenic monotheism, and the days of the Judges must have been not a germinal but simply an anarchical and degenerate epoch. Equally in Professor Smith's way are the legislation of Moses and the high-priesthood of Aaron. These ancient worthies are unceremoniously stripped of their honors. The large majority of the laws are declared to be the invention of Ezekiel and of Ezra and his compeers centuries later, and the very histories in which the sacrificial laws and the Aaronic priesthood are enshrined is a very extensive series of "lies with circumstances."

The theory is not merely that laws were honestly added to the code permanently headed by the name of Moses; it is that certain extended tracts of false history are spread out before us in the record, affirming the ancient Mosaic origination of definite institutions, invested with solemn colorings of narrative and minute detail of pretended facts. Deuteronomy has indeed the honor of being an earlier forgery. It was fabricated by an unknown brain and written by an unknown hand. It was professedly found in the temple while repairs were being made by the workmen of good King Josiah. It was brought by the high-priest Hilkiah, and read in the hearing of the king, who was apparently overwhelmed with contrition and dismay at the revelations of the newly-discovered forgery. The purpose of the fabrication was to establish the religion of Jehovah by force of the most solemn threatenings and promises, and by centralizing all the religious rites of the nation in the Jerusalem temple. The smooth apologies offered for such a forgery are unworthy a man of Mr. Smith's moral and intellectual standing. The man who was competent to forge such a book, however primitive the age, well knew the moral nature of the fraud he was perpetrating. The book is thereby sunk into the category of ordinary priestcraft. Its fraud is more intellectual, but no more honest or justifiable, than those of the Indian "medicine-man" or the African mumbo-jumbo. Its claims to inspiration are to be scouted, and it deserves no place in sacred literature.

But it was really in the heart and brain of the prophets that the true religion, the religion which ultimated in Christianity, originated. Prediction was not its prerogative, but when a new view in regard to Jehovah and his relations to men sprung up within a soul, he was obligated to speak it forth, and so became a prophet. Of the recorded prophets Amos and Hosea were the earliest; and the order culminated in the illustrious Jehovistic, and, by anticipation, Christian, statesman, Isaiah. Isaiah made no infallible predictions of events. Where he foretold specialties he often proved mistaken, and was obliged subsequently to correct his programme. He did not specifically predict the birth or death of Christ. The passage picturing the virgin to bear a son referred only to an unmarried female of his own day. Our author goes over the old argument to prove that the "virgin" was only a girl yet to be married. And when Matthew's quotation applying it to Jesus' virgin mother is adduced, he roundly tells us that New Testament quotations only tell us what were

the opinions of the earliest centuries! What is to be done with Jesus' own extended applications of prophetic passages to himself Mr. Smith omits to tell us. But amid his predictive mistakes the prophetic greatness of Isaiah consisted in his seeing in Jehovah not merely the God of little Israel, but the God of Assyria, of Egypt, and of the whole earth. This idea (really taught in the ten plagues of Egypt) grandly maintained for the first time at this late date, transformed Israel from a nation to a Church, enabled the religion of Israel to survive the polity, and afforded the ground from which Christianity could spring. The publication of Deuteronomy, made at this time, required all ritual to be celebrated at the temple, in order to withdraw all worship from the idolatries prevalent in the rural populations. Yet the prophets had no sympathy with sacrifice or ritual. Isaiah "was practically indifferent to all forms of cultus." It was not until Ezekiel foreshadowed Leviticus, and Ezra and his fellows completed it, labeling it falsely with the name of Moses, accompanied with a romance detailing its imaginary construction by Moses, that the Levitical system was established. This (as we were told in our last Quarterly by Professor Duff) was in strict compliance with Hegel's law of development, that "the prophet precedes the priest." So was Judaism, and afterward Christianity, evolved. And thus both the Old Testament and the New, by cutting and carving and turning end for end, is beautifully shaped according to Darwin. And now that the grand old canon has been duly Hegelized, the next step is to have it Haeckelized. This can easily be done. Let us all conspire together to say that Elohim signifies *Force*, and that Jehovah signifies *Law;* and then all the Bible means is that Force produces creation and all its evolutions through Law. It must be started in Germany; it must be duly rehearsed at Andover, at New Haven, and at Chicago. And then into what a grand unity will opposites converge! Spinozism and Hegelism and Darwinism and Spencerism and Mosaicism and Evangelicism may all together sing a hallelujah chorus to the mighty God FORCE, parabolized in the Bible under the name of God. Scholarly Princeton does indeed seem to dissent from this grand unison. And our unscholarly Methodism may decline, but doubtless in vain. Atheists sometimes, in these days, claim to be pious; why may they not claim to be believers in Moses and the prophets according to Smith, and even in biblical theism according to Haeckel?

Studies in Science and Religion. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, Author of "Logic of Christian Evidences." 12mo, pp. 390. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

Mr. Wright's name is familiar to our readers as an Editor of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," as a master of both Science and Theology, and so an eligible mediator between the two. Some of these chapters were articles of the "Bibliotheca." Thanks are due to Mr. Wright for the present volume. It presents the evolutionary argument very clearly for the popular mind. It undoubtedly divests it of some of its repulsive features. By means of a carefully simple style, and a series of very plain cut illustrations, it elucidates the subject so that the unscientific or semi-scientific reader may get a very fair hold of the question. And it indicates, if it fails to fully present, a view by which the evolutionist need not reject Moses.

What specially attracts our attention in the present volume is its American measurement of the time of man's existence. The New Jersey chipped flints date back to the close of the glacial period. They are found on the southern margin of the once glacial sheet. How far back was that period? By various measurements, taken in different sections, it was from eight to ten thousand years ago. The men, if men they were, who chipped these flints, were, by any existing Biblical chronology, Pre-Adamite.

And yet, as we said in our last Quarterly in regard to Mr. Beecher, we do not see how any Christian evolutionist, who believes in the immortality of man, can well "get along without his Adam." As the line of evolution marches on, the point of transition is reached when the perishable brute instanter becomes immortal man. Eternity is all at once done up into his nature. His being is reorganized by a power unknown to earthly nature and taking hold of supernal things. This can hardly be accomplished, in the way Sir Charles Lyell suggested, by single geniuses rising above the level of the species, as a Milton or a Plato rose above their race. The grandeur of the event, whether including one representative individual or a whole race, as noted in our last Quarterly, requires a grandeur of inauguration. It is placing on our planet a something infinitely more valuable than the planet itself with all its contents. And that inaugurated immortal, or body of immortals, is the biblical Adam, one or more.

Feebly and faintly our author suggests and authenticates this view. He says, (p. 370,) "We may distinguish between the physical nature of Adam and his mental and moral nature; and the spiritual may, for all science *can* [the italics are the author's

show, be as direct a gift to the race, in general, as we believe it to be to every individual. Also, for our part, we have no objection to investing man's creation with miraculous elements.' But this reorganization of man from anthropoid takes possession of not only soul, but body; immortalizing the first and resurrectionizing the last. It is the whole man that is re-created. And if our author's theology is true, this re-creation, or rather completion, of immortal man's *creation*, is accomplished through the power of a divine Incarnation: 'It is the image of Christ completed in man. It seems to us, then, that our author would have been justified in a far bolder statement than that of a "no objection" to the miraculous nature of man's immortalization and a completer enshrinement of the conception into the frame of his biblical theology.

We believe that the Genesis history of the creation of Adam implies his threefold nature, body, soul, and spirit: *somatic*, *psychic*, *pneumatic*. It narrates the infusion of the divine *breathing* or *spirit* by which the merely *psychic* being becomes the *pneumatic* Man. The programme of that consummation is given in Gen. i, 26–31; its finality in Gen. ii, 7. Before that inbreathed spirit that being, like other animals, sprang up from terrene nature quickened by the divine fiat. By that infused (not overlaid) spirit the soul was impregnated with immortal life and the body rendered exempt from disintegration. And so for the first time Man in the image of God was completely created.

Now "*can*" any science show that the chipper of primeval flints was more than a psychic being? Except that his work was in a more manward direction, does it show more intelligence, even in kindling a fire, than that of the beaver, or than Sir John Lubbock's ants? Was the chipper capable of the thought of the Infinite or the truly Ethic? Was he pneumatic Man?

And, again, can any historic connection be shown between the chippers and the present races of men? Does not the very term pre-*historic* indicate that the merely psychic races may all have perished? Evolution, as stated by its advocates, abounds with cases of the entire destruction of immediately preceding races, produced by "environments," or by the destructive power of the higher race; why not similar blanks between the "cave man" and the later man? And, again, evolutionists affirm that there are now races having no idea of God. How know they but those are psychic men perhaps incapable of religious conception, or to

be rendered capable only by being elevated into the constituency of the first representative pneumatic Adam?

Again, by what reason or right do our evolutionary friends ignore and tacitly deny the truth of the earliest history so unanimously affirmed by the various races of mankind of *a primitive Eden?* Lenormant, in his "Beginnings of History," lately published, traces with immense erudition the wide-spread traditions of the Deluge, and, on the ground that universal tradition must be true, he pronounces that tradition to be *history.* The same learned author admits the universality of a traditionary primal *golden age* of innocence and felicity; and yet, with more learning than logic, he treats it as legend! He affirms that "the idea of the Edenic happiness of the first human beings constitutes one of the *universal traditions.*" By his own canon, then, as applied to the Deluge, that primal age of innocence and happiness is historic fact. Similar catholic traditions does he find of "a first typical man," (whose very name on the Assyrian tablets, Adiuru, he identifies with Adam,) "a first sin," and "a first fratricide:" all wrapped in exteriors of fable, and finding in the Genesis narrative alone their true monotheistic core of history. What right has evolutionary science to ignore that history? If science and history disagree neither must ignore the other, but with mutual respect must seek a reconciliation, so that both shall stand acknowledged truth.

Yet, while standing firm to primitive historic truth, we are at present more ready than formerly to admit that the genealogies in Gen. v and xi may be abridgments; and abridgments, like that in Matthew, (upon which see our notes,) more or less for a purpose. The antediluvian pedigree draws a line through centuries when writing did not exist, and before the Hebrew language was formed. It must have been retained traditionally by memory, and the names must be Hebrew substitutes for more primitive vocables. The Shemite pedigree is very bare of facts; and the Cainite pedigree is brief and furnished with fragments of isolated facts, as if the recorder himself did not quite comprehend their import. What more natural than that the form of the pedigree should shorten, yet so as to mark distinctly the true line of descent? Moses might, of course, give the document as he received it. And, curiously enough, Wesley (by a stroke of rationalism some might say) has furnished by anticipation a justification of Moses for giving the pedigree as he found it. Says Wesley on Matt. i, 1: "If there were any difficulties in this ge-

cology, or that given by St. Luke, which could not easily be removed, they would rather affect the Jewish tables than the credit of the evangelist; for they act only as historians setting down these genealogies as they stood in those public and allowed records. Therefore they were to take them as they found them. Nor was it needful they should correct the mistakes, if there were any, for these accounts sufficiently answer the end for which they are recited. They unquestionably prove the grand point in view, that Jesus was of the family from which the promised seed was to come."

Mr. Wright has abundantly proved that in the Bible the terms *begat* and *son* are both often applied to a distant offspring. Jesus was the son of David at generations of distance. But the main difficulty with these two pedigrees, as Mr. Wright notices, is that they give the age of the father at the birth of his son. Yet, as it happens, we have an instance in which even such a pedigree is either lengthened or abridged. In "the generations of Shem" (Gen. xi, 10–24) the name of *Cainan* is either interpolated by the Septuagint or exscinded by the Hebrew; Lenormant thinks the latter, and in fact Luke iii, 37 agrees with the Septuagint. Thus:

HEBREW.	SEPTUAGINT.
"And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years and begat Salah. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters."	"And Arphaxad lived one hundred and thirty-five years and begat Cainan. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Cainan four hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And he died. And Cainan lived one hundred and thirty years, and begat Salah. And Cainan lived after he begat Salah three hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters. And he died."

It will be seen that the Hebrew, by ignoring Cainan, abridges the Septuagint chronologically by two hundred and thirty years. We see also by this instance how the work can be done. And the purpose in both genealogies seems to be to attain the number *ten* as Matthew aims at the number *fourteen*.

This purpose of selecting this final number *ten* is confirmed by Lenormant's showing that *ten* is the favorite number for ancient genealogical figures among various ancient nations. Lenormant bases this number on the number of the digits of the human hands, so that each patriarch's name could be popularly counted on finger and thumb. If, then, these pedigrees are abridgments, we may not a little lengthen the line so as to make our Jersey flint chippers sons of Adam, which is not an intensely important result.

The Greatness of Christ, and other Sermons. By ALEX. CRUMMELL, Rector of St Luke's Church, Washington, D. C., Author of "The Future of Africa." 12mo, pp. 352. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1882.

The dignified expression of features appearing in the engraved likeness of Dr. Crummell in the frontispiece of this fine volume renders quite credible the statement, in the brief biography, that he is the grandson of an African king. His father was kidnapped in his boyhood, and brought to New York dateless years ago, and well remembered the scenes of his African life and the pompous circumstance of his princely style. He became rich enough here to pay for the education of his son, the author of these sermons; but he experienced the difficulties arising from the then brutal hostility, even in the North, to negro education. He was sent to a negro school of higher education in New Hampshire; but the farmers of the section, indignant at the bold atrocity of a Negro academy in their midst, assembled ninety yoke of oxen, drew the academic edifice into a swamp, and bid a forcible good-bye to the departing scholars with a salute from an old field-piece. Crummell then went to the Oneida Institute for some years, but afterward was refused admittance to the Protestant Episcopal Seminary solely on account of complexion. Such was the measure of our Christian civilization toward the colored race here in the North some forty years ago. Let us have patience with our Southern brethren who are passing through the same revolution of thought, amid greater difficulties, to arrive at the same conclusions as ourselves in the end. None are doing more effective work toward amicably forwarding this desirable revolution than men like Dr. Crummell. After a few years of theological study under Dr. Vinton he went, to complete his studies, to the University of Cambridge, England, "where he was kindly received and enabled to fit himself more thoroughly for his important work." So did monarchical England put to shame our Republican America! Whether or not this Cambridge scholar would in this country be, like Bishop Payne, excluded by his color from a first-class car, we are very sure that the country possesses no palace car which would not be honored by his presence. After spending some years in Liberia, Dr. Crummell is pastor of a church in our national metropolis.

We do not believe in bestowing honor of office on a man *because* he is a Negro. But it is a matter of pleasant surprise to note how many men have arisen since emancipation has given the negro a chance, to render the word negro respected. Men

like Douglass, Langston, Blyden, Crummell, Bruce, and Tanner can scarce be thrust, perhaps by men who are their own inferiors, into an inferior race. And this volume of sermons neither asks or needs any special critical tenderness because the pedigree of the author runs far back into Africa. They can stand upon their own merits among the best pulpit productions of our day. In style they are pure, flowing, chaste, and elevated. In thought they are truly, as Bishop Clarke, the introductory biographer, says, "fresh and original." Without eccentricity or sensationalism they abound in fresh views of old subjects, and a vein of originality and individualism pervades the whole series. We are especially impressed with the closing sermon, bearing the bold title, "The Destined Superiority of the Negro." He is no way afraid or ashamed of the word Negro, being assured that it is as well entitled to a capital initial letter as Hindoo, or Caucasian, and determined to make it in due time as respectable. And we should certainly advise all parties to disuse the epithet "colored," for in fact it is more truly the Caucasian that is "the colored race." In this sermon he retraces history past and present to find the races that decay and perish, and notes the traits that mark their character. He demonstrates that the negro race has, on the contrary, all those qualities that constitute true persistence and future ascendency. In the permanent and aspiring races he finds such qualities as "vitality, plasticity, receptivity, imitation, family feeling, veracity, and the sentiment of devotion." All these, he calmly maintains, exist pre-eminently in the Negro race. Let, then, no cynic smile at his "destined superiority of the negro;" the eloquent preacher is serious, and has not the slightest apparent notion that he is blending sermon and *jeu d'esprit*.

The Theological and Philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus, Christian Platonist. Translated from the Original Greek, with Preface, Notes, and Indices. By JOHN DAVID CHAMBERS, M.A., F.S.A., of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo, pp. 170. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

Trismegistus is a decidedly mysterious and almost cabalistic name to the large majority of even scholarly Americans. It here designates the unknown author of a very interesting production at the close of the first or opening of the second Christian century. He was a reader of Plato, and, apparently, of Paul and John, and blends the doctrines and even language of all these writers in stating his system of religion and nature. As a probable late contemporary of the last of the apostles, he

not only fills a blank place in ancient literature, but has no little significance in Christian evidences. He is quoted with approval by Justin Martyr, and must, therefore, have written about the time the New Testament canon was completed, and supplies almost a missing link in the continuity of documentary proof of the existence and high authority of some of the apostolic writings.

The name Trismegistus was primevally an epithet for the Thoth of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, who was celebrated as the original and supreme teacher in the three great departments of philosophy, theology, and government. He was thence styled great, great, great, *μέγας, μέγας, μέγας*, though the grand compound term, Trismegistus, thrice-greatest, did not appear until the second Christian century. Not only the ancient fathers of the Church identified the author of this book with the ancient Thoth, and held the book to be earlier than the writings of Moses, but, what is more, some of his earlier modern editors have committed the same mistake.

The theology is Christian, with the personal earthly history of Jesus omitted. It is intensely, reverently, and sublimely theistic. It fully unfolds a doctrine of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit. It is full and explicit on the topics of baptism, regeneration, probation, and retribution. The sensual among men "attain not unto the Good or to immortality, but, becoming more and more wicked, are given over to the evil dæmon, tormented by the wicked dæmons and fire; retrograding to reptilism, they are given over to be tormented by evil passions and lusts; and, condemned to misery, are whirled about the universe—are converted into devils." We are inclined to view the book as a doctrinal statement of Christianity designed to introduce the thinkers of that day to an acceptance of the Gospel history of Jesus.

Mr. Chambers here furnishes, besides a valuable preface, a very literal translation of the book, of ninety pages; a series of excerpts from the same author, found in Stobæus, a writer of the fifth or sixth century, twenty-seven pages; and fifteen pages of notices of the author from the early Christian writers, closing with a copious index of the entire volume. Mr. Chambers' translation is very close and conscientious, furnishing the Greek original in foot-note of every difficult term or phrase, and a large number of parallel passages from Plato, the Septuagint, the New Testament, and other writers. A peculiarity is his, in all cases, retaining a translation of the Greek article, producing such terms as "the God," "the man," for God, man, etc.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the Revised Edition by Rev. DAVID EATON, M.A. Vol. 1, 8vo. 1882. Pp. 489.

Twenty-seven years ago Dr. Weiss tells us that he announced in an inaugural the birth of the "science"—for "science" he emphatically and repeatedly names it—of Biblical Theology, the antagonist and destined successor of old "Dogmatic Theology." The fatal fault of the "old" was that it looked upon the New Testament as a one book, virtually by one author, teaching a one doctrine under a uniform inspiration, so that the stereotyping a system needed but a classifying of texts. The new "science" has, forsooth, discovered that the New Testament is rather a little library than a book, a package of Hebrew-Greek pamphlets, by various and variously thinking authors, whose main unity is that they are done up in one binding. If these various authors are not only defective, but erroneous and mutually contradictory, so much the more wondrous is the "science," and so much the worse for the authors. And if even Jesus himself is found wrapped in illusion, uttering incorrect views — incorrect views even within the scope of his mission—after furnishing a thin semi-excuse, an apology for an apology, the "science" is still held infallible and sure, and Jesus mistaken. Thus was not only Jesus limited in his human knowledge as to the day and hour of his own second coming, but he positively averred that it was to take place within his own "generation." The excuse for Jesus in making this categorical assertion is given as follows: "That Jesus, however, represented his return as an event which was to be looked for during the current generation is proved undoubtedly by the universal, and, notwithstanding many disappointments, firmly cherished, hope of the apostolic age; and, considering his attachment to Old Testament prophecy, we could not expect it to be otherwise. Those, however, who speak of an 'error' on the part of Jesus, which in that case would have to be assumed, altogether misconceive the nature of biblical prophecy, which, so far as regards its fulfillment, always remains dependent on the historical development. In this development, however, the voluntary behavior of man forms an essential factor, in conformity with which the Father, who guides this development, alone determines the time and the hour, under certain circumstances, even, transcending the limits originally set by himself and announced by prophecy, (Mark xiii, 32.)" But if Jesus was misguided by adhering to the prophets in their true meaning, how are we secured from the conclusion that the

prophets, to whom so frequent appeals are made in the New Testament, were false guides? And if Jesus uttered a positive untruth in regard to the time of his second coming, how save us from the inference that he had a false view of future history, both secular and religious? And why must we not infer that his insecure authority for any second coming, any future judgment, or even retribution, at all? We may here add that we have abundantly discussed this question as to the New Testament expedition of the immediate second advent throughout our "Commentary." Dr. Weiss' "science" excludes him from even noticing the explanation of the supposed expectation of an immediate advent given in 2 Pet. iii, 3–10, where see our notes. It shuts out the harmonizing view of the one book, divides it into irreconcilable parts, and falls into disastrous heresy and skepticism.

We have, therefore, no very profound faith in Dr. Weiss' "science." We believe that the New Testament is an organic book, with many authors, indeed, and yet with one author; with various gifts and degrees, but with one inspiration; with individualistic modes of viewing truth, yet with one truth in view; without internal contradiction, and, at any rate, within the scope of its message, without error.

Divine Nescience of Future Contingencies a Necessity. Being an Introduction to "The Foreknowledge of God, and Cognate Themes." By L. D. M'CABE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Published by Phillips & Hunt for the Author. 1882.

As a writer Professor M'Cabe is clear, earnest, and forcible, impressing his own warm personality into his pages, and so introducing the personalities of others as to give interest to his current of thought. His views have the sympathy of two or three modern leaders of thought, such as Rothe and Dorner, and, indeed, Dorner, in his last volume, names his work on "Foreknowledge" in his catalogue of authors on the subject. Besides this, there are in Methodism a few scattered thinkers, perhaps increasing in number, who rather prefer his views, as furnishing the best theodicy.

That, except in a generic sense of the term, his positions are not Arminian, Dr. M'Cabe not only admits, but boldly from his pedestal assaults Arminianism. Still less are they specifically Methodism. And they are not *new* to Methodism. They have not been ignored by Methodism from indifference or intellectual apathy. On the contrary, Methodism has consciously, repeatedly,

and positively reviewed and rejected them. Rather reluctantly did English Methodism tolerate Dr. Clarke's unflinching deposit of them in his "Commentary," and entirely uninfluencing has that deposit been upon the mind of permanent Methodism. Of the position of Methodism in regard to the present volume our Publishing Agents have given due intimation in its title-page, that it is "published for the author." At the same time, let it be remembered that Dr. M'Cabe is not, like Robertson Smith, abusing a theological professorship to insinuate or force his specialty into the Church in an underground way; nor is he, like Dr. Thomas, misusing a Methodist pulpit by diatribes *ad populum* against the doctrines he promised to preach. It is an appeal through the press to the select minds of the Church and general public; and, personally, we must say that we have no objection to give them a tolerant hearing. We think he has furnished the ablest, ablest, and most original statement of the theory extant. At the same time, we doubt whether his trenchant issue with Arminianism was wise. He might have wisely and truly claimed himself to be, as they used to say, only "*Arminio Arminior;*" that is, just a little more Arminian than Arminius himself; laboring, as Arminianism does, in behalf of a clear doctrine of freedom and responsibility, and carrying it out on the same line to a still clearer elucidation.

We do not feel called upon to enter upon the argument of the book. We expended nearly thirty pages of our work on the Will (pp. 267–293) in an attempt at showing the reconcilability of prescience and freedom; and we see nothing in either of Dr. M'Cabe's books, though others may, to disturb our faith in our arguments or conclusions, especially as he takes no notice of them, and so leaves untouched what force they have. We answered in order, satisfactorily to our own thought, Edwards' several points maintaining the irreconcilability. Dr. M'Cabe quotes Edwards' points as conclusive authority, but omits all notice of our answers, so that our positions stand unassailed. Our ground was, that the theory of nescience is not so very heretical as some suppose, but unnecessary; for to most clear minds there is no difficulty in seeing the consistency of the two. That opinion we still retain. Nor does Dr. M'Cabe's sanguine anticipation of a great revolution in theology from his book appear to us likely to be realized; for, first, there is, we apprehend, no likelihood of a general adoption of his theory; and, second, if it were adopted, it would be no very great revolution; his deluge would be "not much of a shower."

Moses and the Prophets. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by Professor W. Robertson Smith; The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, by Dr. A. Kuenen and The Prophets of Israel, by W. Robertson Smith, LL.D. Reviewed by WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., Professor in Princeton Seminary. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1882.

Believers in the integrity of the Old Testament Scriptures will be greatly gratified that Dr. Green has embodied in a single volume his successive papers in its defense. The first of the series consists of an opening lecture to his class in September, 1881, in which he unhesitatingly treats the doctrines of Kuenen and his followers as being attacks on the foundations of the Protestant faith in line with those of the English deists, and as calling upon Christian believers for firmness and boldness in defense. Then follow reprints of articles which have appeared in the "Presbyterian Review" and the "Princeton Review," subjecting Robertson Smith's and Kuenen's productions to a masterly discussion. By all means our readers interested in this important controversy —and who of them are not?—should be careful not to omit the reading of this valuable series.

Christian Work and Consolation: The Problem of an Effective and Happy Life. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

A manual volume on the vital principles of a living religion will doubtless be gladly welcomed by a large body of readers from Dr. Stevens' eloquent pen. It treats of "work," the duties of life; and of "consolations," the rewards of work done. Nor is true work the penalty of primal sin, but a co-operation with God in the activities of his system which will not cease with our present life. In the chapters of consolations he gives a cheering view of Christian consecration and assurance, "the higher life," and closes with some consoling views of death. It is written often with epigrammatic point, but more generally with the author's usual exuberant flow, with which the reader is usually borne upon the rapid current of thought and language.

My Portfolio. A Collection of Essays by AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., late Professor Andover Seminary. Author of "Men and Books," and "The Theory of Preaching." 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The author of "The Still Hour" may always claim, and will generally reward, a hearing. His "Portfolio" is a collection of rescued "fugitives" gathered from his furnishings to the "Independent" and other periodicals. It consists mainly of sketches

of character and discussions of certain live questions of the day. Leading, and most interesting, is the extended life history of his father, a typical revivalist and New England pastor in one. He was noted in newspapers as having his home visited by the most violent spirit-rappings, similar, though far more rackety, to those of the Wesley family, both which have defied the solutions of science and theology. The reminiscences of Albert Barnes and Horace Bushnell are full of interest. In the discussions appears the hand of a master explaining the soundness of the Andover positions; condemning Negro suffrage and woman suffrage; considering what the pulpit shall do with "spiritualism," etc. These chapters are piquant, frank and never tedious.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Wine: Scriptural and Ecclesiastical. By Norman Kerr, M.D., F.L.S. 12mo, pp. 138. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House.

As secretary to the society for promoting legislation for the control and care of habitual drunkards, and to a home for inebriates, Dr. Kerr has had occasion largely to examine the question of "unfermented wine." His book seems to be the substance of a course of lectures thrown into chapters and paragraphs with headings. His large collection of "unfermented wines" are drawn upon for exhibition to his audience to impress the lesson. One entire page presents us with a tabulation in columns of some thirty "varieties of unfermented grape-juice," with the localities whence obtained, and the dates of their vintage from 1874–81. They come from Asia Minor, Syria, Spain, Portugal, London, Germany, Italy, Africa, and America. The unfermented from America is noted for its rich color.

Dr. Kerr maintains, with ample evidence, that the ancients used the unfermented grape-juice, and that it was called *wine*. He says nothing directly about the testimony of the Jewish rabbis that alcoholic wine was used at the Passover, or about the testimony of our modern missionaries that at the present day the unfermented article has lost the name of *wine;* a testimony that does not seem to amount to much. It is certain, as our respected contributor, Leon C. Field, conclusively shows, that the very word *mustum, must,* is an adjective for which *vinum* is the

noun; and *mustum* has acquired the nature of a noun by gradually dropping its noun but absorbing its meaning. Coleridge says the history of a word is often more significant than the history of an empire. In this discussion the history of *must* is of more importance than the history of Persia and Babylon. It makes it certain that, in popular parlance, *must* was formerly *wine.*

As to the wine at Cana, the simple question is, Was it a formal creation such as God alone performs, or was it a manufacture such as man does? Did Christ make the fresh *wine*, or did he make alcohol? We have noted the slants of infidels in affirming that Jesus made *wine*, and we should be happy to reply with good reason, "Yes, but did he make *alcohol?*" And we are glad that Dr. Kerr has furnished to our hand St. Chrysostom's beautiful Greek on this subject, as it robs Alcohol of his triumph with great conclusiveness:

Chrysostom: "Δεικνὺς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις τὸ ὕδωρ μεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν διὰ τῆς ῥίζης εἰς οἶνον τρέπων ὅπερ ἐν τῷ φυτῷ διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου γίνεται, τοῦτο αθρόον ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐιργάσατο."

"Showing that it is He who changes the water in the vines and the rain absorbed through the root into WINE, who did in an instant at the marriage that work which takes a long time in the plant," (Hom. xxii, in Joh.)—P. 21.

We are glad to see Dr. Kerr also in presenting the following statement of the position of our Church on the communion cup.

At the General Conference (1880) of the Methodist Episcopal organization, with more than 11,000 ministers, about one and three-quarter million members, and between four and five million adherents, the following alteration was made in the Book of Discipline: "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper."—P. 112.

The American Phonographic Dictionary. Exhibiting the Correct and Actual Shorthand Forms for all the Useful Words of the English Language, about Fifty Thousand in Number, and, in addition, Many Foreign Terms; also the Best Shorthand Forms for Two Thousand Geographical Names, and as many Familiar Personal, and Noted Fictitious Names. By ELIAS LONGLEY, Author of "Eclectic Manual of Phonography," "The Reporter's Guide," and other works, and for Twenty-five Years a Verbatim Reporter and Teacher of Short-hand. 8vo, pp. 368. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1882.

This dictionary does not define the *meaning* of terms, but simply presents to the learner the best *forms* of phonographic words. For in this art, with its varied degrees of abbreviation, there are various forms between which the writer may choose, each accordant with the principles of the art, yet not all equally good, and

the dictionary shows the learner which is indisputably the best. The existence of alternative forms, between which the writer must take time to choose, has been urged as an objection to phonography. And some claim that it is a failure. But we are informed by an expert that all our Congressional reporters, with an exception or two, use this system. Mr. Longley is a veteran expert; his system is that of Pitman, with his latest finalities and some additional American improvements. The dictionary is much fuller than Pitman's own, issued years ago, and the learner will, doubtless, find it a reliable aid to the most perfect style.

Philosophic Series, No. 1. Criteria of Divers Kinds of Truth as Opposed to Agnosticism. Being a Treatise on Applied Logic. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., D.L. 12mo, pp. 60. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

This is the first installment of a philosophical series projected by Dr. M'Cosh for the purpose of counteracting the Agnosticism prevailing at the present day. This he proposes to effect not so much by direct belligerency as by establishing the proper doctrines of truth and knowing. He proposes five successive periodical publications, of which this is number one. This treats the first principles of intuitive and deductive logic, the primary grounds of sure knowledge as distinguished from the present philosophical knownothingism. The second will discuss the true nature of causation in view of the doctrine of correlation of forces. The third will show the extent and limitations of development. The fourth will be a critique upon Kant, showing his defects and true value. The fifth discusses Herbert Spencer. Of all the philosophies we personally hold that maintained by Dr. M'Cosh to be most accordant with right reason. Subscriptions for the entire series should be sent to Charles Scribner's Sons.

Empirical and Rational Psychology: Embracing Emotions, Cognitions, Feelings, and Volitions. By A. SCHUYLER, LL.D., President of Baldwin University, Author of "Principles of Logic" and a series of mathematical works. 12mo, pp. 484. Cincinnati, New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.

President Schuyler has acquired a fine reputation as author of a series of works on the intellectual and mathematical sciences. The present, like his other volumes, is a well-executed manual for the private reader or for academic classes. Its style is clear, concise without being obscure, and animated without any meretricious attempts at fine writing. It is divided into the three

established departments of Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will. In the first department he is full and excellent, especially in his treatment of the theory of perception. Perhaps he has marred the symmetry of his work by treating the section on elaboration too extensively, bringing another treatise on logic into the center of his psychology. Thereby he leaves far too small a room for the treatment of the sensibilities, and especially that most important topic, the will. He allows himself scarce space for even an allusion to man's moral sentiments, and his account of the will we esteem as true in doctrine but meager in extent. We should certainly advise in a new edition some reconstruction by a great abridgment of Division Third and enlargement of Parts Second and Third.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Methodism and the Temperance Reformation. By Rev. Henry Wheeler. 12mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

This volume is a valuable and permanent contribution to the history both of Methodism and the Temperance Reformation. It comprehends the action of the Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, South, and the English Wesleyans, in that movement. We could wish that, at least in a chapter, a survey of all the other existing Methodist bodies, great and small, on the globe, had been added. But as it is we have a curious historic picture, appealing alternately to our pride and shame, showing how we have in the general led in the battle, while we have wavered and faltered, breaking our own good resolutions, yet coming up to the standard again when aroused by the spirit of the times.

Here, as on some other reforms, we have Wesley taking high and true position at start, uncompromising and accurate, like an infallibility. His followers apostatized from his proud platform, and after a century none of the great Methodisms now stand on his high basis save our own Methodist Episcopal Church.

We give Mr. Wesley's original rule, with the variations it underwent by successive legislations, at subsequent periods: 1743: The original rule, Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity. 1789: Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or

drinking them. 1790: Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity. 1791: Drunkenness or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity. 1848: Mr. Wesley's rule restored as in 1743.—Page 46.

The relaxation of the Rule in America, Mr. Wheeler attributes to the demoralization of the Revolutionary War. That may be. But we are inclined to suspect that it arose in a great degree from the undeveloped character of the evil itself. The business of distilling may not have become so overshadowing, and drunkenness may not have assumed so alarming a prevalence. It is the stupendous increase of our population, with the still greater increase of the manufacturing, trafficking, and drinking interests, that have compelled alarm, required higher moral maxims, and awakened more general, energetic, and stringent action. These evils stole upon the public mind almost imperceptibly, and it was not until they became truly *menacing* in their magnitude that the appeals of the reformers could possess any startling effect. We remember in our own day a quiet tavern kept by a Methodist of eminently conscientious character. He maintained an orderly house, where he could dispense to the traveler or townsman a refreshing glass with as little suspicion of wrong as a druggist now fills a medical prescription. "The preacher" was often entertained by him *gratis* in a perfectly legitimate way. Ten years later the same man would have about as quickly become a pirate as a publican.

The period of early silence was broken in 1816 by James Axley, a General Conference delegate from the South. He had made the South and Southwest ring with his startling denunciations of the great evil. He brought the agitation into the General Conference, where he was seconded by the venerable Laban Clark of New England, but the movement failed. In 1828 and 1832 the great names of Wilbur Fisk, Nathan Bangs, and Henry B. Bascom appear in the battle-roll, and things begin to move. We well remember reading Bascom's eloquent Temperance Report to the General Conference of 1832 in our quiet study during our little tutorship at Hamilton College. But it was not until after the separation of the South from the Methodist Episcopal Church that Mr. Wesley's rule was restored, namely, in 1848, by an almost unanimity. In the great temperance revival of the last few years the press and conferences of the Church South are taking a noble stand, and the alarming increase of the evil, together with the boldness of its advocates,

will allow our Southern brethren nō repose until the Church becomes unanimous on the highest level. Our own General Conference of 1880 will be honorably commemorated as having passed the following rule: "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper, whenever practicable." This is the true rule to which all Church communion must come. Infidelity must no longer triumph over our concession that Jesus was an *οἰνοπότης*, nor Mohammedanism boast a soberer communion than Christianity.

It must be frankly confessed that the apostacy of our English brethren from the Wesleyan rule was even more signal than our own. One is amazed to find the British Conference recording itself, so late as 1841, so flagrantly as the following resolutions show:

"*Resolved*, 1. That unfermented wine *be not used in the administration of the Sacrament.*

"*Resolved*, 2. That no chapel be used for total abstinence meetings.

"*Resolved*, 3. That no preacher go into another circuit to advocate total abstinence without first obtaining the consent of the Superintendent of the circuit to which he may have been invited." P. 168.

Mr. Wheeler seems doubtful as to the cause of a movement so clearly designed to check the advance of reformation. We doubt not that it was largely the adverse pressure of the English Church and aristocracy who held the pledge of abstinence in contempt. But the personal tastes and preferences of the Methodist ministry itself must nevertheless bear a decided share of the responsibility. Bishop Simpson once said, "The most distinguished [Wesleyan] ministers are in the habit of using them [wine and brandy;] and I regret to say that in many churches there both wine and brandy are kept in the vestry for the use of the minister both before and after preaching. On my first visit to the old countries the kind sextons seemed to be as much astonished that I would not accept them as I was amazed at their being offered." But the terribly growing magnitude and audacity of the evil itself would not allow such a body of earnest Christian men to retain this position in permanence. Intemperance itself was the great propagandist of Christian abstinence. Eminent names of British ministers appeared upon the side of reform. The great name of William Arthur of course leads the van. Romilly Hall speaks out in words worthy a true son of

Wesley. George Maunder and Luke H. Wiseman give their burning testimony. The year 1877 is memorable from the formation of a Conference temperance organization; and in 1880 was established their "Temperance Sunday," in which the principles of temperance were to be publicly proclaimed in every Methodist charge in England, the exercises being previously published in the public newspapers to announce to the world that Methodism is alive on this subject.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Wheeler well shows, is a great, and ought to be an aggressive, total-abstinence society. It has organized an exterminating war on the manufacture, the traffic, and the appetitive consumption of all intoxicants. It so applies its General Rule, by disciplinary enactment, as to prohibit "the buying, selling, or using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, signing petitions in favor of granting license for the sale of intoxicating liquors, becoming bondsmen for persons engaging in such traffic, renting property as the place in or on which to manufacture intoxicating liquors."

And what is the Christian citizen's duty as the possessor of an elective franchise? Does he cease to be a Christian on the election grounds? Is the government of a righteous God to be nullified at the polls? A revival of a sense of Christian responsibilities in civil franchise has already commenced, and it augurs propitiously for our future. If the Christian Church in all its branches and in all sections will firmly and inflexibly exert its civic powers it can put down bad measures and bad men, and inaugurate every beneficent reform to a degree hitherto unrealized. The twin movements of civil service reform and temperance will remove an immense amount of the evils of our present politics. And politics is the government of the country. Purify our politics and you regenerate our governmental system and attain that "righteousness" which "exalteth a nation." Nor must we be frightened at the bluster of politicians-by-trade who would silence the voice of moral rebuke that they may monopolize political power and emolument. Politicians are at the present day mightily menacing when they think they can frighten, but perfect cowards when our persistence tells them that their craft is in danger.

Corea, the Hermit Nation. I. Ancient and Mediæval History. II. Political and Social Corea. III. Modern and Recent History. By WILLIAM ELLIOTT GRIFFIS, late of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan. Author of "The Mikado's Empire." 8vo, pp. 462. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882. Price $3 50.

Mr. Griffis won reputation with the reading public, both of Europe and America, by the patient research, sound judgment, and literary ability apparent in his "Mikado's Empire." What he did for Japan and its history in that production he has done in this volume for Corea, or Chō-sen, "the land of the morning calm," as that hitherto little-known peninsula is named by the Coreans themselves. The curiosity of general readers, of Christian philanthropists, and especially of men of commerce, respecting a country which until recently has been little else than a *terra incognita* to Europeans and Americans, will lead many to consult the present volume. And the value and interest of the information it contains are such that its intelligent and thoughtful readers will be both gratified and made acquainted with a very ancient people who have hitherto succeeded in making themselves impregnable to the approaches of modern civilization.

This is not a book of personal travel or adventure, Mr. Griffis never having been nearer to Corea than the coast of Echizen, a Japanese province which lies on the sea that separates Japan from Corea. This coast for ages had been the landing-place of rovers, immigrants, adventurers, and envoys from the opposite Corean shore. Here, therefore, he found families who were proud of their descent from Chō-sen, and "outcasts" who were descendants of Corean prisoners of war. The traditions of these people, their religion, the names they had given to places and things of art, their implements, their animals, birds, vegetables, and trees, were all eloquent of their kinship to the nation on the opposite shore. He saw distinctly that his studies in Japanese history and antiquities reflected much light upon the neighboring hermit nation, and began to search for materials out of which to weave its then almost unknown story. This volume is the result of his research, which, judging from the ninety-nine books and documents in Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Dutch, German, French, and American mentioned in the book, and from the other sources of information and living witnesses consulted personally and by correspondence, must have been, if not exhaustive, yet sufficiently painstaking to justify his claim that his book, though less fascinating than one giving the impressions of a traveler through the country, is more valuable, because it "views

the whole subject, and reduces the impressions of many details to unity, correcting one by the other."

The peninsula of Corea, including its almost countless islands, is nearly equal in size to the State of Minnesota, having an area of between eighty and ninety thousand square miles. Touching the Chinese province of Manchuria and the Russian Possessions on the north and west, it extends southward between the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea, from the 43d to the 34th parallel of north latitude. Its climate is varied, but the winters are not more rigorous in the higher latitudes than in the State of New York, while in the most southern they are "as delightful as those in the Carolinas." The summers are hot and rainy. The land is generally fertile. Mr. Griffis thinks that "there are at least 12,000,000 souls in Chō-sen."

The ancient and mediæval history of Corea, like that of European countries, is a record of migrations and conquests, of invasions and counter-invasions, of fierce wars of succession and usurpation. It is, of course, a tangled web of legend and tradition interwoven with more or less of historic truth. Our author, by a process somewhat tedious to his readers, has industriously labored to separate authentic from legendary history, reaching the conclusion that the present race of Coreans are not the aborigines of the peninsula, but descendants of a hardy race, the Fuyu, whose original home was in Manchuria, a thousand miles away from the seats of Chinese culture. This people were among the first of their race to emerge from barbarism, to form themselves into a political organization based on the same principle of feudalism as once existed in Europe. After sundry migrations they entered the Corean peninsula and subjugated its barbarous aborigines, together with the emigrants from China whom they found within its borders. Hence the Coreans are neither Chinese nor Japanese, though more allied to the latter than to the former. In disentangling the thread of their history from its myths Mr. Griffis appears to have incorporated every important accessible fact into his excellent work.

To the general reader the most interesting portions of this work are in the second and third parts, which treat of the present political structure of its government, of the social life and character of its people, of its religion, which is a compound of Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism; of the efforts of the French Jesuits to introduce Romanism, with the terrible persecutions which prevented their success; and of the various methods by

which the Japanese, the European, and American nations finally secured the opening of the ports of Corea for commercial purposes. Hereafter Corea promises to be the theater of struggles which will have a world-wide interest. Russia, on its northern border, is fortifying herself, as if intending to create a base for its invasion, since she is hankering for the possession of its southern harbors. The Buddhists of Japan are preparing agencies for an effort to revive their decaying superstitions within its borders; and the Christian Churches both of England and America will now feel compelled to make it the field of fresh missionary conquests.

Professor Griffis' book is, on the whole, a well-written volume. We notice that here and there, when the author attempts to throw a dash of humor into a paragraph, he utterly fails, as when, in stating that Corea, warned by impending dangers, became willing to listen to proposals for opening her ports, he expresses that disposition by citing from Dickens the phrase, "Barkis was willin'," which in that connection was not witty but silly. So, also, after observing that in worshiping the "god of the hills" the Coreans make their pious trip to the hills a pic-nic, he adds, "Thus they combine piety and pleasure, very much as Americans unite sea-bathing and sanctification, croquet and camp-meeting holiness by the ocean and in the groves." Mr. Griffis apparently belongs to that class who see no inconsistency in consecrating the summer sea-shore to drinking, gambling, horse-racing, and carousing, but see something wonderfully ridiculous in carrying your religion into your vacation, and even providing the means of worship and self-consecration in the sublime presence of the ocean. He seems to think that religion must be kept apart from our business, or at least our recreation; and that a broad chasm should separate our devotion from our every-day life. That is not Christianity, but superstition; or, more likely, it is infidelity playing superstition. The divine founder of our religion, with his twelve apostles, frequented the sea of Gennesaret, and carried on there their blended business, religion, and pleasure. A boat was once the pulpit of Jesus, and the beach the church where the congregation listened. At that sea they sailed, preached, fished, and held great camp-meetings, at one of which five thousand were fed, the great Master himself having preached and supplied the provisions which were distributed by his disciples, in "pic-nic" fashion, to the vast multitudes seated on the grassy shore.

Political History of Recent Times, 1816–1875, *with special reference to Germany.* By WILHELM MÜLLER, Professor in Tübingen. Revised and Enlarged by the Author. Translated, with an Appendix covering the period from 1876 to 1881, by the Rev. JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 696. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The last sixty-five years have been marked by great events; by great changes in the relations of the leading nations of Europe to each other and to other parts of the world, and by the growth of liberal ideas tending to the transference of political power from the aristocratic few to the democratic multitude. To treat all these events intelligently, yet without wearisome dullness, in one volume, demanded of the writer a thoroughness in his knowledge and a power of philosophical analysis and of skill in composition such as few can justly claim. But Mr. Müller has fully met this great demand, and given to his readers a comprehensive clew by which they can seize on the links which connected the formation of the Holy Alliance with the fall of Napoleon; the rise of revolutions in Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and especially in France, with the usurpations of the kings in that Alliance. The vast consequences which followed the expulsion of the Bourbons and the ascendency of the Second Empire in France; the usurpations of Prussia in Germany; the creation of a united Italy; the establishment of the German Empire; the overthrow of Napoleon III.; the conflicts of Russia with Turkey; and the relations of England to these great political events and to India, are also all treated with judicial fairness and in the spirit of a man thoroughly possessed of liberal ideas. To students already versed in history Mr. Müller's book will be exceedingly valuable for occasional reference; to the general reader it will furnish as much information of recent events as he may care to know; and it will prove particularly desirable for use in academies and colleges by students of modern European history. President White, of Cornell University, heartily commends it to this last-named class.

Heroic Methodists of the Olden Time; or, Anecdotal Sketches of some of the Noble Men and Women whose Beautiful Lives Adorned, and whose Faithful Labors Built the Walls of Early Methodism. Intended to Please and Profit Boys and Girls. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 307. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The fluent and graphic pen of Dr. Wise, so well known and appreciated in the literature of our Church, has here given us a few leaves from what has been esteemed our heroic age, and

certainly was our primeval period. The world now acknowledges the profound world-wide interest of its history. Dr. Wise has given sketches of Wesley, Fletcher, Lady Huntingdon, Adam Clarke, down to Jackson and Dawson. We adopt Dr. Wise's motto: "Let the deeds of our Methodist fathers and mothers be never forgotten—let your children remember them forever."

Building the Nation. Events in the History of the United States: from the Revolution to the Beginning of the War between the States. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN, Author of "The Boys of '76," "The Story of Liberty," "Old Times in the Colonies," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 485. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

In this volume, one of the Harpers' illustrated, Mr. Coffin has given us a portion of our American history in a style and method of eminent fascination. His diction is popular and colloquial; he selects in historical order the most striking scenes and characters, and shows great skill in reproducing the popular feeling of that day. The cuts are plentiful and often piquant, so that every boy, young and old, may be easily seduced into a knowledge of the history of his country. He ends at the beginning of our late civil war, and all will be ready for his next volume next year.

Educational.

Report of the President of Liberia College to the Board of Trustees. December, 1881. 8vo. pp. 26. Cambridge, U. S. A., John Wilson & Son. 1882.

The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans. Inaugural Address delivered by EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL.D., President of Liberia College, January 5, 1881. 8vo, pp. 30. Cambridge, U. S. A., John Wilson & Son. 1882.

Dr. Blyden's two pamphlets are written in the graceful English of which he is so fine a master. They show an earnest interest in behalf of his people. We take occasion to express our hearty sympathy for his self-consecration to his work and the general wisdom of his counsels.

As an exposition of his views of the methods of *constructing an African civilization* these publications remove some misunderstandings. We find a report, even in the periodicals of his race in America, that he had prohibited the use of the English language in Liberia College. The truth seems to be that he reprobates a great share of English literature because it is so depraved

ency toward the colored race as to depress the feelings and degrade the character of its present Negro readers. In the literary course of the college he will so plan the studies as to fling in the background this period of modern literature.

Dr. Blyden takes a very strong view of the debasing effect of slavery on the immigrants from America. It unfits the American Negro missionary for the work in Africa. He has gone so far as to say that Mohammedism produces a nobler manhood in its converts than the Christianity of our missionaries. He would cherish a high respect for the Moslemism of Africa, and has a theory of making it "a stepping-stone to Christianity." He would have the Negro Christian missionary educated in Africa, in schools under Negro faculties. In short, though founded in Caucasian Christian philanthropy, there must be as complete a withdrawal from Caucasian Christian civilization as may be. The liberalities of the founders of the schools, and of the Republic itself, cannot obliterate the bitter memories of African wrongs, nor the traces of slavery. In both the Report and the Address there are severe replies to Caucasian attacks; and criticisms are passed upon even the defenses and eulogies of the friends of the Negro. On the whole, while recognizing the wisdom of much he says, we cannot help fearing that many of his words are tending to cultivate an oversensitiveness among his countrymen which may react unfavorably upon the American public mind. It is hard for people who would work and sacrifice for Africa to find themselves subjected to a severe criticism for not doing it better. Perhaps it might be well, also, to suggest whether the Negro himself is all right. Unless the Negro character and conduct can respond in a due degree to the efforts made for his advantage, discouragement must ensue. Wiser, apparently, it would be, for Dr. Blyden to impress upon his audiences the immense importance for the Negro to show himself susceptible of civilization, and alert and enterprising to its calls. It is he, and not the Caucasian, who is on trial. With Dr. Blyden the Negro seems all right, and the Caucasian the sole object of criticism.

That Dr. Blyden well understands the character of the needed missionary is well indicated in the following ideal picture:

> For the great work to be done in this vast country we must have men trained on the scenes of their future labors—men who can enter at once upon their work, knowing what is to be done; who need neither mental nor physical acclimation; who know the specific methods in this country for performing industrial, commercial, educational, and religious work; who will know how to live in the country and in the towns; who, if necessary, like the intrepid Anderson—educated in Liberia—can walk two hundred miles on their bare feet, doing exploring

and scientific work; who can take the surveyor's chain and compass through swamps and over mountains, without the accessories of hammocks and beasts of burden, umbrellas and waterproofs; who as missionaries can walk from village to village, proclaiming the Gospel of Christ to the natives in a language they can understand, and can sit down on mats and skins in native huts, reading the Greek Testament and Hebrew Bible, or discussing the Arabic Koran with Mohammedans—and then at meal time can enjoy with their hosts palm oil and rice, palaver sauce and dumboy; who will not long and pine for bacon and greens, peaches and pears, broadcloth coats and beaver hats.—Page 19.

That such missionaries, plentiful, it would seem, among the Mohammedans of Africa, should not yet appear among the Christians, is the real complaint uttered in America. How can this coming band of new-life Christian missionaries be made to come immediately? The Mohammedan school of Cairo is, we understand, sending out its flaming missionaries by hundreds through the continent. But there appears in Liberia neither flame nor fire. All seems cold, dark, charcoal. Conspicuously is this evident in the fact that after more than half a century of work our Methodist conference counts but fourteen members, with a goodly proportion of places "to be supplied." The difficulty seems to lie in the lifelessness of the material there. And yet Dr. Blyden does make it tolerably clear that the true method with Africa is to train the missionary in a school under Negro teachers, and fire them, if possible, with an apostolic zeal.

Literature and Fiction.

Development of English Literature and Language. By Alfred H. Welsh, A.M. 2 vols. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

The purpose of these two handsome volumes is to give a broad account of the causes that have produced our literature, and a critical estimate of its character. To do this well would be to accomplish a most important and difficult task, in which no one has yet succeeded. We have as yet no satisfactory history of English literature. Taine's work, brilliant as it is, is inaccurate in details and written entirely in the service of a pet theory. Henry Morley's "English Writers" was suspended fifteen years ago when it had been carried only as far as the fifteenth century, and has never since been resumed. Professor Ten Brink, of Strasburg, is now engaged on what promises to be by far the best history of our literature; but only the first volume has yet been published, and of this there is no English translation. There is

Therefore, abundant room and need for such a book as Mr. Welsh has attempted.

To write such a work calls not only for wide and accurate knowledge, but also for rare philosophical and critical ability. It must be said for the author of the volumes before us that he has an intelligent conception of the breadth and difficulties of his theme, and a carefully-considered method of treatment. In his introduction he lays down the general proposition that the character of a national literature is decided by the hereditary or race disposition of the writers; by their surroundings, physical, social, political; and by their individuality or personal character. To these three causes he, indeed, adds a fourth, the "Epoch, or Spirit of the Age;" but it seems plain enough that this is resolvable into the other three, being only that condition of the general environment which obtains at any given time. A literature, then, being the product of these three factors—the Race, the Environment, the Person—it becomes necessary to show their combined action in literary growth, and, at the same time, to estimate their relative importance. In pursuance of such a plan, Mr. Welsh, after devoting two opening chapters to the formation of the English character in its earliest history, begins every subsequent chapter with a somewhat detailed account of the religion, politics, morals, and manners of the period covered by the chapter, with such reference to the writings of the period as may serve to show how the social peculiarities described found expression in literature. He then selects a few of the more important and typical writers of the time and gives to their life and work a fuller discussion, under the several headings, Biography, Writings, Style, Rank, Character, and Influence.

The opening sections of each chapter, which describe the state of society at various epochs, are the most interesting and important parts of the book. They evince wide reading and often contain much curious and valuable information. But they do not always show a firm grasp of general causes. The author often fails to make clear the laws of which the social facts he has collected are the expression, or to show the bearing of those facts upon literature. Sometimes, too, his collection of facts, though interesting as a picture of society, omits just those details most pertinent to his subject. In the discussion of the first half of the eighteenth century, for instance, we find nothing said of the decay of the sentiment of authority in politics which followed the revolution of '88; nothing of the rise of that shrewd middle class

to whom political power was surely passing; nothing of the portentous growth of the city of London and the forms of social life that accompanied that growth; nothing of the secrecy of Parliamentary debates which made necessary some other means of reaching the public ear; and nothing of the specific influence of French literary models. Yet these are just the causes which had most to do in determining the form and spirit of our literature under Anne and the first Georges. But after all deductions have been made, these sections form a useful contribution to the history of English society.

The remaining or critical sections seem to us not so valuable. The relation which the authors selected for detailed discussion bore to their age is often very imperfectly shown, even when, as in the case of Edmund Spenser, that relation is all-important. Nor does Mr. Welsh always succeed in giving a clear conception of the personality of his author. The copious citations from other critics are usually well chosen and valuable; but his own criticism is vague, diffuse, and declamatory. It is never terse and incisive. It lacks originality and insight. The purely rhetorical criticism, in particular, is weak, the epithets grouped under the heading "Style" rarely having much descriptive value. It is, indeed, impossible to consider with any profit the "style" of a writer apart from those mental peculiarities of which it is the expression. That Longfellow's style is "simple, choice, musical, sincere, vitalized by sympathy," is true enough; but, then, so is that of Whittier, Goldsmith, Burns, and half a hundred other English poets. In fact, these remarks upon style seem sometimes to have been written pretty nearly at random; when the style of Cowper is characterized as "animated, vigorous, pointed," it would seem impossible that the epithets could have been deliberately chosen; the style of Sidney is characterized as "always flexible," but "sometimes cramped."

Mr. Welsh seems sometimes to fall into mistakes from unacquaintance with the latest authorities upon his subject. In the biographical sketch of Chaucer, for instance, there are in the first twenty-five lines seven different statements given as unquestioned matters of fact, every one of which has been shown, by recent study of Chaucer, to be either positively erroneous or at best merely conjectural. Mr. Welsh seems to have read nothing on Chaucer later than the book of Harris Nicolas. Indeed, his reading in general, though wide, would seem to have been very indiscriminate. The rather pretentious list of nearly

three hundred authorities which is placed at the beginning of his book is remarkable, indeed, for the omission of many of the ablest and best-known books on his subject in English, and the entire absence of all authorities in French and German. Elsewhere the errors of the author seem to be due to an indifference to details and an aim at fine writing. Thus we are told in one place that Sidney wrote the Arcadia "in the shelter of the forest oaks," and in another place that the Arcadia was written "in an old castle," as it certainly was *not;* the careful student would be willing to exchange the rhetoric for a simple statement of the fact that the Arcadia was written at Wilton. Mr. Welsh makes Esther Johnson fifteen years old when Swift first met her; she was six or seven. He calls the other woman of Swift's romance Esther Vanhomrigh; her name was Hester. He says that De Foe, after having lost his ears in the pillory, retired from politics in 1716, bankrupt, to devote his energies to fiction. Had he remembered any thing written on De Foe since 1869, he would have known that De Foe in 1716 was in politics deeper than ever, that he was far from bankrupt, and that he never lost his ears at all. These are minor errors, perhaps; but they are just the kind of errors that a well-informed and careful writer would successfully avoid.

The style of the book throughout is not eminently chaste. It is vague, diffuse, florid. Mr. Welsh does not say a plain thing in a plain way. His labored efforts after animation of manner lead him now into turgid declamation, now into ludicrous flippancy. This is the way by which the tedium of a discussion upon Hume is enlivened: "And now, Mr. Hume, we cannot refrain from wishing that along with your incisive intellect you possessed more heart and soul; along with your self-reliant majesty more reverence and trust. . . . You carry in your bosom no sheaves of sunbeams, no carols of birds, no plaintive cadence of Æolian harp." Which is, doubtless, true. Perhaps, however, the most amusing of Mr. Welsh's rhetorical peculiarities is the habit he has of dropping now and then into exhortation rather odd than edifying. This is the way in which the life of good Joseph Addison is "improved": "You and I may not have much intellectual power, our thought may never fill the world's soul; but if we have stimulated a generous wish or a noble aspiration, if we have even furnished a medium in which handsome things may be projected and performed; if we have added one leaf to the tree of humanity, one blossom to its wealth of bloom, or aught

to its harvest of fruit, we may rely upon the eternal law that neither things present nor things to come can deprive these outgoing particles of their immortality." C. T. W.

Alexander Pope. By LESLIE STEPHEN. (Morley's series.) 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

It was said of Mr. Lincoln that he seemed to have a lower and a higher self; that in contemplating the former you could scarcely realize the latter; and the historic world has preferred, in the contemplation of the higher, to largely dismiss the reminiscences of the lower. The same double self close research finds, in some degree, in Pope; but Mr. Stephen, from some peculiarity of his nature, prefers to dwell mainly in the lower story, we might say in the down-cellar, of Pope's character and history. He never tires, however thoroughly his readers may, of vituperative epithets, (among which "liar" and "thief" are average specimens,) of depreciatory clauses, and of intentionally damning the great poet "with faint praise." And all this, though patently Pope's errors were largely based in his physiological make, in his dwarfed frame, his sickly habit, and his tremulous nervous system. He is charged, and apparently proved, as being abundantly guilty of multiplied prevarications and dissimulations in his literary dealings. Within his professional line he garbled documents, denied the truth, and practiced frauds. And yet, as Mr. Stephens admits, these under-cover practices so little affected his ordinary character or reputation that "he was the welcome companion of all the most eminent men of his time." Pope himself seemed to view these peccadilloes as mere parentheses in his moral character, of which he could easily absolve himself, and which left him free for the full feeling and expression of the loftiest sentiments and purest moralities of our nature.

Pope had a desire to have his correspondence published without seeming to have done it himself. For the purpose of concealing from the public his own agency in the publication, he started a deceptive scheme. As the devil will often have it, one deception had to be covered with another, until a whole snarl of prevarications had come into existence. Pope measurably succeeds, and finally enamels the whole over with a varnish of pseudo-morality. Over these effeminate hypocrisies for an effeminate purpose, Mr. Stephen parades a most magniloquent morality hardly less hypercritical. "The most audacious hypocrite of fiction turns pale

st this." It "is altogether a picture to set fiction at defiance." That is, Iago inveigling his master to the murder of his own wife, Guy Falk conspiring to blow up Parliament, are white lambs compared to Pope intriguing to conceal his hand in the publication of his own over-elegant epistles, and making believe they were purloined for the purpose!

Mr. Stephen does scant justice to the great genius of Pope, and that under the form, usually, of reluctant and piecemeal admissions. The poet's unsurpassed ability to clothe thought in lines of most perfect finish has made it seem easy to be done by any body; and we have known versifiers of fifth-rate ability cherishing the idiocy that they "could write as good poetry as Pope's." And yet, perhaps, Shakspeare alone has left so many masterstrokes of condensed thought, stereotyped by our constant quotation into proverbs, as Pope.

Mr. Stephen's philosophy and theology are more inverted even than his literary and ethical criticism. The following great passage of Pope's he styles "frankly pantheistic":

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
> That changed through all and yet in all the same,
> Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent;
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
> As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns
> As the rapt seraph that adores and burns;
> To Him, no high, no low, no great, no small,
> He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Mr. Stephen's statement that this magnificent passage is "hardly orthodox" and "pantheistic" sadly exposes his incapacity for such subjects. The passage describes, in terms of wonderful truth and sublimity, the pervasive omnipotence of a personal Deity throughout all the objects and operations of nature; and every line might be repeated from any orthodox pulpit in full accordance with sacred truth. Pope has left two lines in his poetry which, putting *self-conceit* for "pride," admirably describe the peculiarities of his biographer's case:

> Pride, where wit fails, steps in to our defense,
> And fills up all the mighty void of sense.

Preparatory Greek Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 294. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

The writer gives frank credit to Dr. Vincent for the origination of *the idea* of this volume, as well as ample suggestions in its production; and the compliment might be reciprocated that he has filled out, and more than filled out, the programme with eminent ability and success. Its "aim" is to furnish to the popular reader a clear and full idea of what is going on in the "college course." But it well succeeds in accomplishing the further aim of furnishing to the young student, for himself, a clear idea of what he is going about. In former days, and we suspect down to the present day, the unfortunate candidate is obliged, very much, to go it blind. In the olden time his Latin grammar was put into his hands, then his manual of selections with dictionary, then his Virgil, and he plodded like a miner cutting a tunnel through a rock. A book like this would have thrown an illumination around his path, revealing to him where he was, and what the surroundings of the route he was obliged to pursue. Mr. Wilkinson has done his work in the best manner, varying his style through a variety of changes, now cheerily colloquial, now running an even level, and anon rising with graceful ease into a strain of lofty eloquence. The volume is first of a series.

Character Sketches. Arnaud—Macaulay—Klopstock and His Meta—Mary Somerville—Madame De Staël—Voltaire—Channing—Wesley. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 397. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Several of these admirable sketches have already been published in our Quarterly. The remaining three have for their subjects Voltaire, Channing, and Wesley. In some respects the Voltaire, whose life and character Dr. Stevens has evidently made a study, will be found not the least interesting. Upon Channing he is fresh, liberal, and graphic, blending general criticisms with personal recollections. We need not say that upon Wesley he is at home; and no pen has done more to revolutionize public opinion to its present high estimate of him than this same Dr. Stevens

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Poems. By REV. DWIGHT WILLIAMS. 8vo, pp. 397. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Readers who have been accustomed now and then to see a spirited poem peering out in the columns of our papers, by Mr. Wil-

...ms, will be glad to welcome them in complete volume. They will find a collection of the productions of a true poet on a rich variety of subjects, and in a brilliant variety of styles.

The Power of the Invisible, and other Lectures and Addresses chiefly Educational and Baccalaureate. By Rev. H. A. THOMPSON, D.D., President of Otterbein University. 12mo, pp. 400. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House. 1882.

The President of Otterbein has collected a volume of public performances of his own before the students of his college, before various institutions, literary and religious, and one before the Ecumenical Assembly of Methodism. They are marked by the traits of high culture, elevated religious tone, and a large share of independent remark. The reader finds himself in communion with an elevated style of thought; and the volume will exert an efficient and beneficent influence on the public mind.

Miscellaneous.

Final Causes. By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute, Professor at the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Translated from the Second Edition of the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, B.D. With Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 520. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

It is gratifying to know that a new issue of this able treatise is required. We have already given our opinion, which we here repeat, that it is a very effective refutation of the Agnosticism, *alias* Atheism, of the hour.

The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. Considered in Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford on the Bampton Foundation. By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., of Exeter College, and Rector of Walcot. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1883.

This fine volume we have noticed years ago, and are glad to welcome its fresh issue. In a small compass it brings together a series of fresh views of the unity and progressive unfoldings of the New Testament, expressed in a style of beautiful clearness and simplicity. It is timely as correcting the errors of an overdone method of so-called Biblical Theology which virtually denies that the New Testament is an organic book, and reduces it to a chance series of pamphlets floated together.

Webster. An Ode. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 1782–1852. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 122. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Daniel Webster was, with the single exception of Jonathan Edwards, the greatest intellect known in American history, a great statesman, and a great orator. But neither poetry or prose can undo the fact that in the greatest moral battle of the century he was untrue in the most trying crisis to the cause of freedom and righteousness. Nothing, alas, can erase Whittier's "Ichabod."

Harper's Young People, 1882. Imperial 8vo, pp. 848. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Mr. Stubbs' Brother. A Sequel to "Toby Tyler." By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," "Tim and Tip," etc. Illustrated by W. A. ROGERS. 16mo, pp. 283. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Moravian Missions. Twelve Lectures by AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, Author of "The Better Land," "Morning Hours in Patmos," "The Mercy Seat," etc. 12mo, pp. 516. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Harper's Illustrated Books this season are unsurpassed for splendor and value. Coffin's "Building of a Nation" we have elsewhere noticed. The following are sumptuous:

Harpers' Christmas. Pictures and Papers done by the Tile Club and its Literary Friends. 32 pages, (page double the size of "Harper's Weekly" page.) with Supplement presenting a two-page Engraving of Vedder's powerful drawing—the head of the Youthful Samson. Price 75 cents.

Travels in South Kensington. With Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY, Author of "The Sacred Anthology," "The Wandering Jew," "Thomas Carlyle," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 294. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Story of the Volunteer Fire Department of the City of New York. By GEORGE W. SHELDON. With 145 Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 575. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Highways and Byways; or Sauntcrings in New England. By WILLIAM HAMILTON GIBSON, Author of "Pastoral Days." Illustrated. 4to, pp. 157. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Selections from the Poetry of Robert Herrick. With Drawings. By EDWIN A. ABEY. 4to, pp. 188. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land, Central Palestine, and Phœnicia. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., Forty-five Years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. 130 Illustrations and Maps. 8vo, pp. 689. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

History of Ancient Art. By DR. FRANZ VON REBER, Director of the Bavarian Royal and State Galleries of Paintings, Professor in the University and Polytechnic of Munich. Revised by the Author. Translated and Augmented by JOSEPH THACHER CLARKE. With 310 Illustrations, and a Glossary of Technical Terms. 8vo, pp. 482. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Boy Travellers in the Far East. Part Fourth. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods," "Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field," "Overland Through Asia," "Underground," "John," "How to Travel," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 438. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A History of Wood Engraving. By GEORGE E. WOODBERRY. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Friendships of Mary Russel Mitford, as Recorded in Letters from Her Literary Correspondents. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'ESTRANGE. Editor of "The Life of Mary Russel Mitford," and Author of "The Life of the Rev. W. Harness," "The Village of Palaces," etc. 12mo, pp. 460. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Rocking Round the Rockies. By ERNEST INGERSOLL. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A Compendious Dictionary of the French Language. (French-English, English-French.) Adapted from the Dictionaries of Prof. Alfred Elwall, followed by a List of the Principal Diverging Derivations. By GUSTAVE MASSON. Small 8vo, pp. 411. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

A Transplanted Rose. A Story of New York Society. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Gospel According to Luke. Explained by MATTHEW B. RIDDLE, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Hartford, Conn., Member of the New Testament Company of American Revisers. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part I. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 161. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part II. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of King Henry the Sixth. Part III. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Small 8vo, pp. 172. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Introduction and Notes, by A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 260. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Westminster Confession of Faith. With Introduction and Notes by Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., Findhorn. 12mo, pp. 171. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1881. (Scribners.)

The Church. By WILLIAM BINNIE, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Aberdeen, Author of "Treatise on the Psalms, their History, Teachings, and Use." 12mo, pp. 152. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Work of the Holy Spirit in Man. Discourses by G. TOPHEL, Pastor of the Evangelical Church, Geneva. Translated from the French. (Third Edition.) by Permission of the Author. By Rev. THOMAS J. DESPRES. 12mo, pp. 118. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Love for Souls. By Rev. WILLIAM SCRIBNER. Author of "Pray for the Holy Spirit," "The Saviour's Converts," etc. 12mo, pp. 103. New York: Charles Scribners Sons. 1882.

The Reformation. By T. M. LINDSAY, M.A., D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 214. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Book of Genesis. With Introduction and Notes, by MARCUS DODS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 202. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

The Acts of the Apostles. Explained by J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester, and H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of St. Pancras, London. 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The Epistles of James and John. By Dr. J. E. HUNTER. 8vo, pp. 528. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The Epistle to the Hebrews. By Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. 8vo, pp. 495. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

Biblical scholars will welcome these two volumes in continuation of Meyer by Hunter and Lünemann. We doubt they would generally desire the completion of the great work with Düsterdieck's Apocalypse.

Christian Ethics. Special Part. Second Division: Social Ethics. By Dr. H. MARTENSEN, Bishop of Seeland. Translated from the Author's German Edition by SOPHIA TAYLOR. 8vo, pp. 384. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882. (Scribners.)

We note in this volume the same characteristics as in the former: a great skill in applying the principles of ethics to practical life.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *Lorna Doone*, a Romance of Exmoor. By R. D. BLACKMORE, Author of "Cradock Nowell," "Maid of Sker," "Alice Lorraine," etc. 8vo, pp. 280. *Heaps of Money.* A Novel. By W. E. NORRIS. Price 15 cents. *Civil Service in Great Britain.* A History of Abuses and Reforms and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. Price 25 cents. *Egypt Under Its Khedives;* or, the Old House of Bondage under New Masters. By EDWIN DE LEON. With Illustrations. Price 20 cents. *The Constitutional History of England from* 1760 to 1860. By CHARLES D. YONGE. Price 25 cents. *The Making of England.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D. With Maps. Price 20 cents. *Quits at Last.* An Account in Seven Items. By R. E. FRANCILLON, Author of "Earl's Dene," etc. Pp. 30. *No Proof.* A Novel. By Miss ALICE O'HANLAN. Pp. 70. *Daisies and Buttercups.* By Mrs. J. H. RIDDELL. Pp. 95. *The Great Diamonds of the World,* their History and Romance. By EDWIN W. STREETER. Edited and Annotated by JOSEPH HATTON and A. H. KEANE. Pp. 45. *Flower and Weed.* By Miss M. E. BRADDON. Pp. 28. *Of High Degree.* A Story. By CHARLES GIBBON. Pp. 68. *The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford,* as Recorded in Letters from Her Literary Correspondents. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'ESTRANGE. Pp. 119. *Val Strange.* A Story of the Primrose Way. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY, Author of "A Life's Atonement," etc. Pp. 75. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The Senior Lesson Book, (Berean Series No. 1.) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 208. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Berean Question Book, (Berean Series No. 2.) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 204. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Berean Beginner's Book, (Berean Series No. 3.) on the International Lessons for 1883. 16mo, pp. 203. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Lessons for 1883. By REV. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and REV. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo, pp. 312. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

Eras and Characters of History. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 286. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Science and Sentiment. With other Papers, Chiefly Philosophical. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 8vo, pp. 306. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The Text Revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Canon of Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. American Edition, with an Introduction by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, President of the American Bible Revision Committee. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The True Story of John Smyth, the Se-Baptist, as Told by Himself and His Contemporaries; with an Inquiry Whether Dipping were a New Mode of Baptism in England in or about 1641; and Some Consideration of the Historical Value of Certain Extracts from the Alleged "Ancient Records" of the Baptist Church of Epworth, Crowle, and Butterwick, (Enc.,) Lately Published and Claimed to Suggest Important Modifications of the History of the Seventeenth Century. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 106. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1881.

Three Successful Lives. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 180. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Life of Captain John Smith, First Planter of Virginia. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D., Author of "John Winthrop and the Great Colony," "Elements of Logic," etc. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 267. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Boys and Girls. Two Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 190. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The School at Beechwood. Two Illustrations. By the Author of "Agnes Morton's Trial," "Our Western Home," "Twenty-five Cents," etc. 16mo, pp. 156. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

New Games for Parlor and Lawn, with a Few Old Friends in a New Dress. 16mo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Diddie, Dumps, and Tot; or, Plantation Child-life. By LOUISE CLARKE PYRNELLE. Illustrated. Small 8vo, pp. 217. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Macaulay. By J. COTTER MORISON. 12mo, pp. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Charles Lamb. By ALFRED AINGER. 12mo, pp. 182. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Sterne. By H. D. TRAILL. 12mo, pp. 173. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Gray. By EDMUND W. GOSSE. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Swift. By LESLIE STEPHEN. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

Mildred's Bargain and Other Stories. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "Prudence." Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 231. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

Amusements in the Light of Reason, History, and Revelation. By Rev. S. M. VERSON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 153. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

The Faiths of the World. St. Giles' Lectures. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. Printed for the Author. 12mo, pp. 480. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union of Great Britain, with five Maps and Appendixes. By CHARLES GEORGE WALPOLE, M.A. 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

A New, Easy, and Complete Hebrew Course, Containing a Hebrew Grammar, with Copious Hebrew and English Exercises, Strictly Graduated; also a Hebrew-English and an English-Hebrew Lexicon, Designed for the Purpose of Self-Instruction, as well as for Use in Schools and Colleges. By the late Rev. T. BOWMAN, M.A., Clifton, Bristol. In Two Parts. Part II. Irregular Verbs, etc. 8vo, pp. 423. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. III. The Epistles of St. Paul. 8vo, pp. 628. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

Of this sumptuous work the Maps and Plans are furnished by Prof. Guyot, of Princeton; the Illustrations by Thomson, author of "The Land and the Book." Among the commentators the three Epistles of John are to be annotated by Dr. William B. Pope and Prof. Moulton, of Cambridge; and the Apocalypse by Prof. Milligan and Prof. Moulton.

Notices of the following books postponed to the next Quarterly:

The Human Mind. By HAMILTON. From the Carters.

Dr. Hill's Geometry and Faith. Lee & Shepard.

Lenormant's Beginnings of History. Scribners.

H. H. KASCOM, D. D., L. L. D.

ONE OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1883.

ART. I.—HENRY B. BASCOM.

At about eight o'clock on a Sunday morning, in May, 1832, I stood in a huddled group of impatient men and women in front of the old St. George's Methodist Church, on Fourth-street, below New, in Philadelphia, waiting for the doors of the quaint edifice to be opened. By nine o'clock the crowd was numbered by hundreds, and thronged the street, and when at last the doors were opened the rush that followed was fearful. Within a few minutes every seat in the house was taken; the passages, and even windows, were filled by people of all sorts and conditions, who sat or stood two hours longer, awaiting the beginning of the service at eleven o'clock. The preacher had to enter the church through a window at the back by the help of a ladder, and found no small trouble in edging his way through the chancel and up the pulpit steps, so dense was the throng. As he stood to give out the hymn, the breathless multitude looked upon one of the handsomest men that ever trod this continent. Had he lived in Greece, Phidias might have wrought his form, face, and head into marble, and called it Apollo. That preacher was Henry Biddleman Bascom, then thirty-six years of age, in the prime of his manly beauty, intellectual vigor, and extraordinary eloquence, the most conspicuous preacher in the General Conference of the Methodist Church, at that time sitting in Philadelphia, and

filling a larger space in the public eye than any other in the country. I was only in my ninth year, yet cannot forget, after half a century, the impression made by his supreme beauty and transcendent power.

He was the son of Alpheus and Hannah Houk Bascom, born on the 27th of May, 1796, in the town of Hancock, Delaware County, N. Y., two miles from what is now the village of Chehocton, on the New York and Erie Railway. On the father's side his blood was Huguenot French, intermixed with the Puritan of England and New England; on his mother's it was German. The wilderness was his school-house, poverty and hardship his course of study, and adversity the head-master, whose lessons he had to con and floggings to endure for most of his life. He learned to read and write, and had a little instruction in the beginning of an English education, before his twelfth year, but the next time he stepped into an academy was as a professor.

Although sober, industrious, and virtuous, his father never was beforehand with the world, except in matter of wives, of whom three fell to his lot, and of children, in which species of wealth he was equal of the patriarch Jacob, for twelve were born in his house, of whom Henry was the second. From the picturesque banks of the Delaware, where his boyhood was passed, he removed, with his father's family, to Little Valley, in southwestern New York, in 1808, and had a yet sharper experience of the frontier of civilization, for the Seneca Indians were still the lords of the soil and there were few whites in the district. When fourteen years old he was converted to the faith of Christ, in the next year joined the Methodist Church, and soon after began to take part in religious meetings, exhorting the people to flee from the wrath to come and to lay hold on eternal life. Soon after this the family made another move toward the setting sun, and at last found a resting-place five miles north of Maysville, Ky.—then called Limestone—in the State of Ohio. He had worked upon the farm, bored logs, made pumps, was a drayman, a hewer of wood, a rail splitter, in short, had turned his hand, with his whole might, to whatever kind of labor offered, meanwhile snatching the brief hours of rest he could get to be used, with still greater energy, in committing to the unrelaxing grasp of his

memory the contents of what few books fell in his way, and in using his gift to warn and counsel his fellow men. He believed himself called to be an embassador for God, in Christ's stead, to beseech men to be reconciled to him, and burned with a quenchless ardor to be about his Master's work. When sixteen years old he felled the trees and made rails for twenty-five cents per hundred, and thus earned the money to equip himself as a recruit in the forlorn hope of backwoods preachers, and set out from his father's house, in September, 1812, for the session of the Ohio Conference, held at Chillicothe. He there saw and heard the venerable and sagacious Bishop Asbury, and also the great and wise Bishop M'Kendree, then in the flower of his age and the meridian of his power, whose weighty and burning words, reinforced, as they were, by the singleness and loftiness of their aims and motives, wrought mightily in his sensitive spirit, and gave an unchanging form to his character. A first attendance at the session of an Annual Conference, to a young candidate for holy orders, is a memorable experience. The order of business; the grave and dignified presidency of the Bishops; the striking individuality, physiognomy, and impressive voices of the men who take the principal parts in the proceedings; the sermons; the prayers; the singing; the experiences given in the "love-feast;" the meetings around hospitable boards; the stories of adventure, perils, humor, and fun; the intimate fellowship; the *esprit du corps*, such as reigns in no other body of men I have known, give it a power to subdue and discipline, yet to kindle and inspire, that can hardly elsewhere be found. The consummation is reached when the parliamentary business is completed, the journal read, and one of the oldest members gives out the hymn beginning—

> And let our bodies part,
> To different climes repair;
> Inseparably joined in heart
> The friends of Jesus are—

that hymn sung by a hundred and fifty men or more, whose homes and those of their families, their spheres of labor, with circumstances of privation, exposure, toil, poverty, perhaps of suffering and death, are unknown to them, but are presently to be announced by the venerable Bishop; then follows the tremulous, fervent, pathetic, spiritual prayer of the aged serv-

ant of God, during which tears flow freely, sobs and amens are heard, and then, in the breathless silence, the Bishop stands, and, in a voice betraying deep emotion, tells them that, in the exercise of his great power, he has humbly sought the help and guidance of Christ; that in the places to which he is sending them, they may have many a peril and many a sorrow; that they may be cold and hungry, scoffed and hissed at, weary and heavy laden; that probably they will not all meet again on earth; that whoever falls must fall at his post with his face Zionward; and then, exhorting them to endure hardness as good soldiers, he promises the hidden but sufficient cheer and support and eternal blessing of the Great Head of the Church—"And now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among them which are sanctified," "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away." His address ended, he slowly reads the name of each District, Station, Circuit, and the men appointed to them. I have witnessed many a scene of deep dramatic interest, where nerves and brain were thrilled and the heart almost stood still, but none which, in breathless emotion, intense, almost tragic, feeling, and high heroic aspect, compare with the closing scenes of a Western Conference in the early days, when hundreds of men heard their fate from the lips of one man, and took their lives in their hands to obey his behest, loyally believing him to be, for them and theirs, the mouth of God's great Providence. One can easily imagine the effect of such a scene, and the influences which led up to it, upon an imaginative, sensitive, sympathetic nature like Bascom's. That session of the Conference, for him, was more than equal in value to a year's schooling, and he returned to his father's log cabin with impulse, courage, zeal, and devotion quickened as by the baptism of the Holy Ghost. His unworldliness and purity of spirit can scarce be questioned when it is remembered what the work was to be and its earthly wages. The salary of the Bishops was eighty dollars a year, and their annual journeys on horseback took them from the St. Lawrence to the Savannah and Tallapoosa, from the shores of the Atlantic, over the mountains, through cane-brake, forest, prairie, and swamp, to the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri; their saddle-bags

containing wardrobe and library; their wearing apparel copperas or madder dyed homespun; their fare often parched corn and jerked venison or baked 'possum; their bed sometimes the bare earth or a hollow log, in winter as well as summer. If such were the life and labors of the Bishops, what had the rank and file to expect but unremunerated toil, penury, hardship, suffering, and probably an early death? And to what end were this heroic courage and fortitude dedicated, if not that they might preach Christ, "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that they might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." "Whereunto they also labored, striving according to his working, which wrought in them mightily."

In February, 1813, Bascom received license to preach, and was appointed by the presiding elder, the excellent James Quinn, of blessed memory, as "helper" on Brush Creek Circuit, which lay in several counties up and down and back of the Ohio River, and in the following autumn was received on trial in the Ohio Conference. At that day a Presiding Elder's District in the West covered as wide a territory as is now included in several Conferences: the larger part of Indiana, the whole of Illinois, and the whole of Missouri were in single circuits. The last war with Great Britain was raging; the Indians on the western border were in arms against our people, and preachers had to face the peculiar dangers and endure the especial hardships of the times. Bascom's zeal and devotion were equal to every demand upon them. He devoured whatever books came in his way, mastered and retained their contents; preached once or twice, sometimes thrice, almost every day; met the classes; visited the sick; had long rides, sometimes perilous ones, through unbroken forests as well as in the open; fared and slept hard; "was instant in season and out of season," and made full proof of his ministry. As Chillicothe, the capital of Ohio, was in his first circuit, it offered him rare advantages, better society, and more books than he had before seen, and he eagerly appropriated them. His yearning for all kinds of knowledge was passionate, insatiable. Never did a youth more earnestly redeem the time from sloth and self-indulgence by the ransom of sleepless vigilance, shrewd observation, patient and unremitting study, and

untiring efforts to improve and educate himself in every part and in all directions. He read while in the saddle on his long, hard rides, or, seated at the foot of a tree, where a panther might be lurking for a deadly spring, (as, indeed, was once the case, when he was saved from the fierce creature's teeth and claws by the timely ball of a hunter's rifle, the monster falling dead at his feet;) in the cabin homes of his parishioners, where the single room served as kitchen, laundry, nursery, diningroom, bedroom, for the family and their guests, and sometimes, also, as kennel and poultry yard, with the scolding wife, grumbling husband, squalling children, growling curs, and clucking hens, to furnish a musical accompaniment to his studious researches, or when the rest were locked in sleep, he, lying on the ample hearth, pursuing his studies far into the night by the flickering light of a pine-knot stuck in a corner of the chimney. Knowledge thus gained is sure to be valued and converted into the reproductive grain by which a man may live. Brave as the boldest frontiersman who ever fought with crafty savages, he was yet shy, self-distrustful, and sensitive as a timid girl; and, seeking to hide his quivering sensibilities and tremulous, almost morbid, modesty from the common gaze, he covered himself with a mantle of reserve, which was thought, by common observers, to be one of haughty pride. Cast in nature's finest mold, "ruddy and well-favored," with buoyant step, grace in every motion, erect and dauntless in carriage, every feature of the face perfect, his head covered by a wealth of curly, dark hair, a study for the artist, the light of intense feeling and fiery genius in his glorious eye, which looked straight at and through you, it is not strange that he should be misunderstood and misinterpreted by the mass of men about him. Silent among strangers; without command of the commonplace nothings of ordinary talk; hating gossip and scandal; wholly free from the spirit of fault-finding and backbiting sometimes called criticism; speaking, when he had anything to say, in a prompt, decisive, sometimes impetuous, way, the emphasis of his utterance increased by his shrinking diffidence, and, withal, an uncompromising adherence to truth and a fearless honesty—all these qualities helped to throw him out of the pale of instant recognition and easy familiarity. Rarely, therefore, has it happened that so sweet, tender, mag-

magnanimous, princely a nature as his has been so generally misconstrued, oppressed, and, at times, almost crushed. His brilliant genius, too—a genius, which laid under contribution the thoughts of other men, assimilated and reproduced them, bearing the impress of his striking individuality, and sent them into wide circulation as glittering yet precious coin, but totally different from the mintage of other men—served to increase the distance betwixt himself and them.

It was resolved by the authorities to put Bascom's mettle to the proof, and he was sent to Guyandotte Circuit, in West Virginia, pleasantly styled the Botany Bay of the Conference, as rough a part of the country, at that day, as any preacher has ever been sent to work in. To Guyandotte he went without a murmur, and within nine months preached four hundred times, rode through that wild, sometimes trackless, almost impassable mountain district, three thousand miles, battling with the elements, sleeping in hollow logs, chased by wolves, fighting with a bear, swimming mountain torrents, living on "hog and hominy," "dogger and bear meat," and received for his year's work twelve dollars and ten cents. This is what he said in a letter to a friend, at the close of that year:

> But none of these things move me. I possess a settled consciousness that I did not engage in the ministry to accumulate wealth, and when I meet with trials and disparagements I am not at all disappointed, but meet with firmness what I had anticipated, not with fear. I can get, as soon as I please, five hundred per annum for my services; but no, I'll travel, and try to possess the spirit of goodness and universal benevolence; and, while I feel animating fires in my veins, I'll preach His Gospel who gave me power to preach.

He was now entitled to be admitted into the Conference as a member, and to receive deacon's orders. His character was blameless, his conduct irreproachable, his industry unremitting in every part of his duty, and his devotion to his Master's work supreme; but a vote of the Conference refused to admit and grant him orders!

The Minutes for that year state that Henry B. Bascom was continued on trial. The next year he was sent to the Mad River Circuit, which was bounded on one side by the Indian country. The savages had not yet slaked their thirst for blood, and a house in which he stayed for a night was assaulted

by them, but was so well built and guarded that their attack was fruitless. As he rode off the next day, he found himself pursued by the red men, but, as he was on a powerful horse, he managed to keep well ahead, but soon came in sight of the Great Miami River, full and covered with floating ice. As he paused the Indians raised an exulting shout, for their prey now seemed within their grasp. He spurred his horse, plunged boldly into the rushing torrent, steered as well as he might amidst the floating ice, and gained the other shore just as the savages reached the one he had left. They dared not venture into the roaring flood, contented themselves with impotent yells and brandishing their tomahawks. His dripping clothes were soon changed into a mail of ice, and he was in danger of freezing. Emptying the water from his saddle bags and boots, wringing his stockings, he mounted again, and, after a long ride, reached a friendly house, where he was soon re-clothed and comforted. Going to bed early, after the fatigue and excitement of the day, his deep, sweet sleep was soon disturbed by the information that the *accouchement* of the lady of the house was at hand, and the request that he would go in search of a nurse and doctor, and find himself another place to sleep. Twenty years later, at the close of a service where he had preached, a young lady was introduced to him, who begged his pardon for having robbed him of a night's sleep after a trying day. Somewhat startled by the statement, he was endeavoring to recall where and how, when she laughingly informed him that it was her advent in this sphere that made the *finale* of that day's experience.

Another year's hard work was done, and faithfully done, yet his brethren doubted if he were worthy to become a member of the Conference and ordained a deacon. Some light may be shed on the problem by this incident: An old layman, who was really much attached to Bascom, was, nevertheless, grieved to the core by what seemed his conformity to the world in the matter of dress, and that conformity argued a very low state of piety. "Henry, my boy," he said, in a half admonitory half pathetic tone, "what makes you such a dandy—why don't you try to be and look like a Methodist preacher? You dress and carry yourself in such a way that many of your brethren think you've got no religion." "My dear brother," answered

Bascom, meekly, "my pay is so poor that I am obliged to wear what clothes are given me, and if I happen to look well in them I can't help it; God made me what I am." "Yes, you can help it," said the old man, with some warmth, "and you must help it. I'll cure the matter. Will you wear a suit of clothes that I'll have made for you?" "Gladly," said Bascom. "All right," said his old friend, "I'll make you look like a Methodist preacher; the clothes shall be ready for you when you come around the next time to attend the camp-meeting." A month later, Bascom reached the camp ground, and his old friend was ready for him; taking him out into the woods, he said, exulting, "Strip off those foppish clothes and put on these, and, for once in your life, you will look like a minister." Bascom stepped aside, arrayed himself in the new garments, while the old man rubbed his hands and chuckled with glee at the prospect of beholding his *protégé* in orthodox parsonic gear. The deformed, transformed Bascom stepped forth, his fine person attired in a suit of blue jeans, the waistcoat buttoned straight to the throat, the coat a genuine Quaker "shad belly," something like an English bishop's. As the old man saw him approaching with elastic step, in his radiant beauty,* he started up aghast, could scarce trust the testimony of his eyes, advanced, turned Bascom round and round, retired a few paces, surveyed him from every point of view, and, with a discomforted expression and dolorous tone, exclaimed, "Henry, there's no doing anything with you; you're a born fop; you look a hundred times more like a dandy than you ever did before." What could be done with a man who was so becoming in whatever he wore, who looked like a courtier or prince even in homespun!

When Bishop M'Kendree saw that a majority of the Conference had resolved to keep Bascom still on trial, he said, "Give that boy to me, admit and elect him to deacon's orders, and I will take care of him." Bascom was transferred to the Tennessee Conference, and appointed to the Danville Circuit, in Kentucky. Year after year he wrought and studied with

* So impressive were his presence and bearing, even in his latest years, that, as he walked the streets of Lexington, where he was as well known as was Henry Clay, it was the habit of those who saw him oftenest, as well as strangers, men, women, and children, white and black, to pause as he passed, turn round and gaze upon his receding figure.

untiring patience and fidelity, his reputation as a wonderful preacher growing apace, but still distrusted by many of his brethren, and this was the case even down to the close of his life. He and I happened to stop together at the Planters' House, St. Louis, in May, 1850, during the General Conference at which he was made a Bishop. I vividly remember the nights when we were left alone, how he paced the floor, sometimes in excitement, sometimes in anguish, and told the puerile stories that were repeated to his discredit, whispered to him, in strictest confidence of course, by condoling friends of the Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar types: how he sported a gold-headed cane, (which had been given him;) how he looked proud and vain and worldly; how he carried himself like a fine gentleman, and courted the world's applause by his brilliant rhetoric and stagey airs, and how all these things unfitted him to be a Methodist Bishop. Gadflies can torture and madden a blooded horse; and these petty persecutions caused the sensitive Bascom an amount and quality of suffering, throughout his whole public career, which it would be difficult to describe or measure. Even two of the older Bishops doubted the expediency of elevating him to the bench, influenced, without question, in part at least, by the same petty feelings. The man was blameless in his walk and conversation; once only was a rumor breathed against him affecting his reputation as a gentleman and Christian minister—of that I shall speak later. I have rarely known a man so sweet and tender in his feelings, so modest, even diffident, in self estimate; or one more just and kind in his recognition and appreciation of others. When his fame and influence grew great, he was the fast friend of the young and obscure, tolerant of defects, hearty in encouragement, liberal in every kind of help he could afford to those who were struggling toward excellence. Many a young preacher has he striven to shield from the buffets and scorns of which he himself had such bitter experience. His judgments of men always leaned to mercy's side, and he seldom failed to put the best construction possible upon men's motives and conduct, especially if they were unfortunate and aspersed. His filial piety and deep interest in the welfare of his brothers and sisters brought him an increase of care and distress. As his father advanced in years, although children multiplied under

his roof, there was no improvement in his financial affairs; on the contrary, they grew more embarrassed. Whithersoever he went, and however hard his own lot might be, Bascom's heart never forsook his father's home, but was full of brooding concern for the welfare of its inmates. What spare time he could get was spent by him in striving to promote the comfort of the family, laboring, as of yore, at the plow handles, with the ax, the scythe, or flail, bringing the larger part of his slender stipend to the family chest, and busying himself, in every possible way, to further the education of his brothers and sisters, and, in later years, that of their children. When he came to be a college professor and the most popular preacher in the United States, he was accustomed to spend his vacations with his father, and would return from a tour in the Eastern cities, where thousands hung enchanted on his lips, and in return offered him the Circean cup of applause and flattery, "with many murmurs mixed," to assist in the harvest of his father's crops, and, with his own hands, to cut and haul the wood for the winter's fires. I believe that he never seriously entertained the thought of marriage for himself, until his brothers and sisters were settled or started in life in the best way his providence could compass. When his beloved mother died, he was kneeling by her bedside, her hand clasped in his, and her last whisper was in his ear. When his father passed away, he was again kneeling by that bed, cheering the departing soul with God's gracious promises, administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and, as the old man breathed his last, the loyal-hearted son laid his head upon the same pillow and gave vent to his over-burdened breast in a flood of tears. While he was yet a young preacher, traveling the hardest circuit in the Connection, one of his sisters died and bequeathed to him her two children; he accepted the trust and religiously performed its duties, providing for their education and settlement in life. The scanty pittance he received, year after year, from the Church, was unequal to these demands, and, as the calls upon him grew more importunate, to save his family from beggary or dishonor he fell into debt: that gulf profound wherein he floundered and knew no escape. This misery began as early as 1814, and, although he had no gift for making or taking care of money, yet the anguish he suffered from the

want of it, amounting, at times, almost to the bitterness of death, was not caused by extravagance or self-indulgence. Here is a sample of the letters he had from home. His father, writing in 1825, said, "My corn is light; what little remained of our wheat crop the weevils have destroyed; my potatoes are barely the seed, and poverty crowds on every side." And this is what Bascom said in 1827: "My father is alarmingly infirm this spring. On this subject I tremble between hope and fear. I am quite fixed in my purpose to locate this fall. I am compelled to do it, and can hesitate no longer. I do not believe it is my duty to suffer, even to disgrace, in order to remain in the traveling connection. My situation is getting worse every day—the interest of the money I owe exceeds my income, and my correspondence costs me one hundred and thirty dollars a year.* My clothes are worn out, and I have not the means to replace them. What better can I do than retire from an unequal contest? I should like to remain in the traveling connection, but I am fatally doomed, after fourteen years of toil, like Cowper's stricken deer, to seek the shade and try to recover from my wounds."

A list of the books he read, if it could be had, would prove of great interest, as showing his diet, and what came of it in the way of mental fiber. You see him in these early days with Beattie on "Truth" and Blair's "Sermons" often in hand, and I suppose thoroughly in the memory. There is internal evidence, too, that the labored antithesis and the verbose efflorescence of Dr. Samuel Johnson's style had a fascination for him. Devouring greedily all books that came in his way, and through the alchemy of his memory making their contents a part of himself; earnestly striving to conform to what were recognized as the highest standards of style, without competent teachers or guides to instruct, suggest, repress, and direct, it is not to be wondered at that his taste should be at fault and his style in composition not above criticism. Young's "Night Thoughts" was a hand-book to the divines of that day, and Pollok's "Course of Time" soon won its way to equal popularity. Pope's labored and artificial verses were held to be the perfection both of genius and art. Is it strange, then, that this untutored boy, growing rapidly to intellectual manhood, should deck himself out in a

* He was, at the time, President of Madison College.

wardrobe which will not bear the exacting scrutiny of a later taste. Bag-wigs, lace ruffles, trunk hose, silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles, are not now in vogue, but it is probable that as good men and true have worn them as any now arrayed in monkey-jackets, cut-away coats, swallow-tails, and trousers. Fashions in rhetoric change as do those in garments. Even Milton's magnificent prose would hardly suit a newspaper or review to-day; and I suppose Jeremy Taylor would be counted a bore by most contemporary fashionable congregations, and a pedant by the critics. Lovers and users of the well of English undefiled might declare Bascom's style to be sesquipedalian at times; but there were few such in the country at his day.

In 1823, after doing thorough work in some of the roughest parts of the frontier for nine years, and winning recognition as the most eloquent and powerful preacher of the Gospel in the West, through the influence of Henry Clay, Mr. Bascom was elected chaplain to Congress. When he stood for the first time behind the clerk's desk in the old Hall of Representatives at Washington, before an immense congregation, in which were the leading public men of the country, their expectation on tiptoe by reason of the unbounded praise of Mr. Clay and the other western men who had heard him, Bascom's heart failed him for fear. Hitherto he had preached in cabins, log schoolhouses, framed meeting-houses, or on camp-grounds, to a motley assemblage of men, women, and children, dressed for the most part in linsey-woolsey or deer-skin, uncritical and, even if indifferent or antagonistic, easily roused and moved. But here the surroundings were new, strange, oppressive; the assembly was illustrious, cold, satiated with public speaking, and disposed to cavil. The atmosphere of the audience froze the genial currents of his soul, and, benumbed, almost paralyzed, poor Bascom struggled through his discourse. To Mr. Clay and his other friends it seemed three hours in length, to the rest of the audience interminable, and to the preacher himself an age. I have never known so nervous and diffident a public speaker. He could not stand up to begin a service before the smallest and most obscure congregation to which he ever preached without shaking from head to foot as from a severe ague, while the leaves of the hymn book would rattle from the contagion of his quiv-

ering hand. He has often paced the floor in a kind of terrified anguish for three days and nights, almost without sleep or food, before he was to preach. His sense of the responsibility was awful—that he, a frail mortal man, should speak for the Most High God to his fellows on the infinite issues of life, on death, the judgment, and eternity. He could not recover from the chill of his first service in the capitol, and his chaplaincy in the halls of Congress was not successful. His morbid shrinking and consciousness that he had gravely disappointed the hopes and promises of his enthusiastic friends served still more to handicap him, and he had few more painful experiences than that of his sojourn in the Federal city.

The session of Congress at last closed, and Bascom's long palsy gave way under the genial influences of a Maryland camp-meeting, held not far from Annapolis. The spell of his captivity broken, he preached with a degree of unction, brilliancy, and force which overwhelmed his hearers. For many months he passed from one camp-ground to another, from Baltimore to Philadelphia, to New York, to Harrisburg, York, Carlisle, and whithersoever he went thousands hurried to hear him and were astonished, electrified, by his eloquence. For the next fourteen years (from 1824 to 1838) his career as a preacher of righteousness was unexampled in the country since the days of Whitefield. He not only charmed and entranced all classes by his sermons and lectures, arousing, convincing, persuading, overthrowing men's refuges of lies, leading them to penitence, faith, and a holier life, setting in splendid array the arguments and proofs which vindicate the claims of Christ's truth and Church; shaming men out of the scoffs and jeers and supercilious cant of so-called philosophic unbelief; but, without intending it, he gave to hundreds of men and women the scribbling itch. (*cacæthes scribendi.*) Leading editors, writers for magazines, poets and poetasters seized the pen and sought to describe this phenomenon in the pulpit. Their productions make queer reading. They were magnetized by his genius, felt the contagion of his somewhat grandiose style, and treated that generation to an amount of fustian which would now seem incredible if his biographer had not given us an overdose of it, and if stilts were not even yet dear to many hearts. Take a few specimen sentences:

He is the solitary star that fills with a flood of effulgence the skies of his own creation, and gilds with loveliness the forms which have arisen at the call of his genius. His mind, like the Olympic wrestlers, struggles for mastery wherever it grapples. Let him encounter the gnarled and unwedgeable oak of error in its century hallowed form, and the contact is like that of the electric fluid, rending and illuminating at once, but not like the fabled bolt of Jove, rendering sacred what it scarred. The fortification which he demolishes is ever after contemptible and untenable. The votary of error under any banner which Bascom may stoop to assail ever afterward will disown his flag, and be ashamed of his former inconsistency. The subject only, and with an omnipotence of power, has stood before his hearers either as an angel of light or a fearful demon; the one to sing "Peace on earth, goodwill to men," the other to forestall doom and threaten an eternity of woe. Let the inflated individual who has, in his boasted researches into philosophy, never gained sight of the shore of the great ocean of truth, where childlike Newton stood, and only picked up pebbles in his own estimation, let this vain boaster but come within the action of Bascom's intellectual battery, and a faint smoke or the mere ashes of a consumed fabric will only be left to tell where once he stood. . . .

While we were yet in a state of dubiety whether or no his audience were not to be treated to a merely nebulous disquisition of no particular merit, and asking, mentally, whether this could be the man whom Henry Clay had pronounced the greatest natural orator he had ever heard, a brilliant thought, wreaked upon eloquent and original expression, enchained our attention, and thenceforward to the close of the discourse we wist not that we were occupying a narrow spot in the middle of a crowded aisle—cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in—with the thermometer at ninety.

The text was wrought out into a world of thought, of persuasion, of imagery, to which Milton himself might have listened with an applauding spirit. To those who cannot retire into that realm of the mind which seems to open upon it the domain of immortal prophecy, the illimitable stretch of that vastness where the Omnipotent sits clothed in light as with a garment—who are unaccustomed to entertain those views which stretch beyond this visible diurnal sphere, or those rapt thoughts that wander through eternity, the sermon in question may have seemed too high wrought and sublime to sink at once upon the mind.

It must be borne in mind that these choice quotations were from the pens of men who ranked among the most admired and influential writers of that day. Bascom's speaking seems to have had the effect of dazing people oftentimes. I have known serious, sober men, past middle age, some of them

ministers, who, quitting the church after one of his sermons, would lose their way home, with which they were perfectly familiar, and wander sometimes for hours in an aimless, distraught manner.

On his first visit to Philadelphia, in 1824, Mr. Bascom met a man who had awakened a degree and quality of interest in the eastern cities unknown for three quarters of a century—a young Irishman, John Summerfield by name. Of slight build and delicate physique, he was yet able to accomplish prodigious labor, preaching constantly to vast congregations, which listened as if to the song of a seraph. His flute-like voice, soft, sweet, penetrating, touched the finest emotions by its almost unearthly music, while the saintly expression of his countenance, his attitudes and movements of perfect grace completed the irresistible charm of his personal presence. His discourses were for the most part the outgrowth of his study of Jay's "Morning and Evening Exercises," and kindred compositions, but he breathed into them the warm life of his own gentle and tender spirit, while, set off as they were by the childlike simplicity and persuasive unction of his manner, and delivered with a pleading earnestness and tremulous pathos, they melted all hearts, and won for him upon all hands the suffrage of affection mingled with veneration. Two men could scarce be more unlike than the fragile, almost angelic, young stranger from across the sea, and the robust, finely developed athlete, schooled in the canebrakes and forests of the West.

Another Irishman was just then rising into great popularity, the distinguished and unfortunate John Newland Maffit. Below the middle height because of his short legs, broad-shouldered and deep-chested—measuring, when I knew him, over fifty inches inside the arms—with a well-shaped head, the contour and impressiveness of which he strove to improve and increase by shaving the front and sides so as to give a higher and broader brow; a face not remarkable except for a good eye and the disfigurement of a hare-lip, and with a voice of rare compass and timbre, which was skillfully used in song as well as speech, and a very white, well-shaped hand, most dexterously employed, he had for many years a name and following such as have been acquired by few men. Stepping, it is said, from a tailor's bench in the modern Athens, he began his public min-

istry in New England, and in the quarter of a century that followed his first appearance in the pulpit there were few cities or towns of the United States of that day in which he did not awaken the opposite moods of admiration and antagonism. Although moving on a far lower plane than either Summerfield or Bascom, he divided the popular interest with them, and drew as great crowds as either. Without Summerfield's child-like centered piety, or Bascom's genius or intense earnestness, he had qualities of style, manner, voice, and magnetism which gained for him a wider and more clamorous popularity than is possessed by almost any preacher of this time. He was never a student; in his sermons there was neither intellectual grasp nor depth of feeling; his rhetoric was meretricious but dazzling to the general eye—all the more effective with the masses, because offensive to the cultivated few and coupled with a fatal facility of speech he seemed to them a man of rare genius. He thoroughly understood what, for want of a better word, must be called "the business of a modern evangelist," and was a consummate master of the details insuring the success of a protracted meeting. His voice, not the organ-toned instrument of a great or rich nature, was like an accordion deftly played, running through a wide range of notes, with many stops and variations, delighting and captivating the ears untrained to higher music. His faults were the product of his mercurial temperament and Celtic blood, brought into prominence by his style of work, and were heavily visited; while his abundant labors and great usefulness in the behalf of thousands that others could not win to the truth have been forgotten. I knew him well at the close of his life; his sorrowful death from a literal breaking of the heart, produced by the relentless attacks of his enemies, took place while he was preaching for me in Mobile, and I cannot withhold the expression of pity and qualified regard and affection for this once celebrated but ill-starred man.

Never was a man more free than Bascom from the pettiness of envy and jealousy toward his brethren; his hospitable heart welcomed with glowing warmth the virtues, talents, and usefulness of Summerfield, Maffit, and all other men, great or small, brought in contact with him, and, by foolish people, into comparison or competition. His sympathetic eye was quick to

perceive every form and phase of goodness and excellence, and while the meed of praise he gave them was unstinted, no man was more liberal or tolerant toward well-meaning stupidity. A warm regard soon arose between Summerfield and Bascom, interrupted for a moment by a want of tact on one side and undue sensitiveness on the other; but a good understanding was soon re-established, and their hearty friendship was only ended by Summerfield's early and deeply lamented death. A little before his own death he wrote: "Poor Maffit has at last fallen a sacrifice to the demon of persecution."

In the autumn of 1826 Mr. Bascom was appointed to Uniontown, Pa., at the western foot of the Alleghanies, where it was intended to establish a Methodist college, of which in the following year he was elected President. He gave the indefatigable labor of three years to the attempted upbuilding of Madison College, but in vain. He then acted as the western agent for the American Colonization Society, traveling widely and speaking powerfully in its interest. In 1832 he was chosen professor of Moral Science and Belles-Lettres in Augusta College, Ky., and although offered the presidency with the hearty approbation of Dr. Martin Ruter, then at its head, steadily declined the honor. His father's death occurred in the following year, upon which he took his step-mother and all his father's younger children under his roof.

Although his coming to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, was hailed by the acclaim of thousands, the enthusiasm attending his ministry was still greater in the West. He nowhere appeared, however, to such advantage as at a camp-meeting. A beautiful grove of sugar maples, intermixed with trees of oak, hickory, and ash, yielding a grateful shade, the groups of canvas tents, clap-boarded shanties, and log cabins, the rustic stand, altar, and benches, the glancing sunlight at play amid the leafy canopy, the motley throng of the innumerable multitude, the breath of the woodland breeze heard in the pauses of the hymns sung by countless voices, a weird accompaniment to the preacher's tones, combined to form a picturesque and harmonious environment for his sermons. But it was at night that the most magical effects were produced. The waving glare from heaped blazing pine-knots on the fire-stands at the corners of the tent-surrounded space, the

light from many lamps set in the tree branches, the ghostly moonshine shimmering through the leaves, a multitude which no man could number thronging the vast temple not made with hands, a sea of upturned faces, half revealed and half concealed by the shifting lights, every form rigid and forward bent to catch the faintest whisper, and every eye riveted on the preacher standing at the book-board.

Below him, within the altar, were gathered the venerable fathers and mothers in Israel; behind, in the ample stand, almost a conference of ministers. At the last sound of the horn he entered the stand with a hurried step, knelt for a few minutes in silent prayer, and then advanced to the front and took the hymn book. The hymn was announced, and those nearest could hear the shaking of the book's leaves, so unsteady was his hand. The compressed, bloodless lips, the pallid cheeks, the sweat upon his brow, his jerky reading, bespoke his great but subdued agitation. One of the ministers, probably Brother Gunn, for many years called, in Kentucky, the sweet singer in Israel, "pitched the tune;" it was caught up by every voice, and broke upon the still night like the sound of many waters. The music calmed and cheered him, and the brief prayer that followed was simple, direct, earnest. Then came the reading of God's Word after the same manner. Another hymn followed, during which he sat bowed, his face buried in his hands. With forced composure he again stood behind the books, and in the breathless silence gave out the text. He was still nervous, at times hesitating, embarrassed, but quickly gathered headway, and the sentences came leaping from his lips at a rate of speed unparalleled. Mr. Calhoun, the most rapid of political speakers in my time, would in his fiery deliverances to the Senate enunciate at the rate of one hundred and eighty words to the minute, by the count of the reporters. Dr. Bascom spoke at the rate of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred words to the minute, sometimes rising, in his highest energy, to four hundred, yet every syllable distinctly heard.*

The intense play of every faculty, whether physical or

*Startling as this statement may appear, it was made to me by Dr. Bascom himself. He declared that he frequently read for half an hour at the rate of four hundred words a minute, and that the words had then been counted to verify the estimate. The fact sheds light upon his temperament.

mental, can therefore be only dimly conceived. Arguments, illustrations, appeals, warnings, entreaties, rebukes, promises, came rushing from his lips with the stupendous speed of a cataract. Criticism was disarmed, but the attention so absorbed as to be almost painful. The gestures were few but expressive, the voice not musical, but singularly distinct and far reaching, and in the transport of his excitement his dark eye burned with an almost intolerable splendor. His noble figure, above the middle height, his air of high command at such a moment, gave him a port and presence almost more than human. The reasoning and imaginative powers, under the sway of the most intense emotions, acted as one, and his torrent-like impetuosity carried his hearers along, unresisting, amazed, spell-bound. So far as I know, nothing like it has been heard in this country. At times the whole congregation would rise to their feet, not knowing what they did, nor where they were. Writers may decry the spoken word, and sneeringly declare that the mission of the pulpit has ended, but until the world's end God's great Word will stand, "That by the foolishness of preaching it hath pleased Him to save them which believe."

Bascom's preaching was like the sound of a trumpet, and while the sermon lasted men forgot every thing, themselves, their surroundings, even the preacher, every thing but the wonderful strains, and the unfathomable meaning they suggested. The preacher, too, had forgotten himself, and in a kind of ecstasy gave his vision voice, unconscious of criticism, applause, of aught but the mighty theme and the Master who had given him the message. What wonder, then, if, at the close of the sermon, which lasted two hours, the people found it hard to recover the sense that they were in the leafy grove; many of them scarce knew whether they were in the body or out of the body, but felt that they had been "caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words." After the excitement of that trance it was long before the silent stars looked down on that multitude composed in sleep, and not a few unclosed eyes were greeted by the rising sun. The sermon dwelt in many a memory like the song which St. John heard, "the chorus of harpying symphonies and sevenfold alleluias." Once his subject led him to describe the manifestations of God's wrath against sin. On the front bench sat a man prominent alike for his

wealth, talents, influence, and wickedness. As the vivid pictures of the flood and of Sodom and Gomorrah passed before the congregation, deep horror froze the veins of this man, and he fell in a swoon, was carried from the church senseless, and when he recovered proved to be a raving maniac, and such he lived and died. At another time Bascom was preaching in a large country church on a bright Sunday morning. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity, the windows were all open, one of which was immediately behind the pulpit overlooking the rural grave-yard. He was describing the typical forms and manifestations of the Holy Spirit. It was the baptism in Jordan, "and Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him." As these words fell from the preacher's lips, suddenly, as an apparition, a snow-white dove flew through the open window at the back of the pulpit, and rested on his shoulder. He paused, the bird sat for an instant with folded wings, then slowly spreading them, in the breathless silence described a circle around his head, and flew back to the summer woods.*

At Saratoga, in 1838, he preached to a vast concourse in the open air, the wind directly in his teeth. The effort was too much even for his strength; his vocal chords were strained; and for the rest of his life he suffered from what was called bronchitis, and was never again the equal of himself in earlier days. Up to this time he had never preached from memory nor a manuscript, but thenceforth used his notes, depending on them more and more to put a curb upon his vehemence, and thus save his weakened throat. As he did this, his power as a speaker lessened at a corresponding pace. He never again wielded the scepter of his regal eloquence. His infirmity made him self-conscious; and self-consciousness denies access to the mountain summits of vision and inspiration.

While Professor at Augusta College he was married, in 1839, to Miss Van Antwerp of New York, and two years later was elected President of Transylvania University, and removed to Lexington, Ky., where he resided for the rest of his life. In the ever-memorable General Conference of 1844, which sat

*These incidents, as well as many other facts stated in this paper, I had from his own lips.

in New York, and in which the Methodist Episcopal Church was divided, he was a member, but, as at all other General Conferences, a silent one, except when, as the chairman of a committee, he had to read a report. Almost every other man on the floor, whether young or old, made a speech; but he, the most illustrious and powerful speaker of them all, held his peace. It was his pen, however, then and afterward, on which the Southern branch of the Church relied to state its case to the world. When the first General Conference of that Church met at Petersburg, Va., in 1846, it was thought, and justly thought, by his friends and by himself, that he ought to be elected a Bishop. Eminent as were his services, and great as was the debt of gratitude due to him, both were ignored, and he received another deep and painful wound from the hands of his brethren. He did not wish the office, nay, would have declined it, but felt that he was entitled to an election as a vote of confidence, and as an indorsement to the world of his conduct in their behalf. Instead of a seat upon the bench of Bishops, he was re-elected President of the University, made one of the Commissioners of the Church South, to settle the matters at issue with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Editor of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review."

There was no compunction in placing intolerable burdens upon his shoulders; it was taken for granted that his strength was equal to any weight, that the magic of his name would crowd the halls of the university with students, and fill its empty exchequer; that as Commissioner he could collect information from all quarters, write and publish the Church's documents, and at the same time edit and publish a "Quarterly Review," without a cent of income provided.

Take this statement of his remuneration while Professor at Augusta College as another specimen of the manner in which he was paid for his services: At first his nominal salary was seven hundred dollars a year, afterward raised to a thousand; but he never, in any year, received half his salary in cash, and seldom so much; for the last six sessions of his stay he got only one dollar in five of his salary in cash. He paid for the institution several hundred dollars in gifts, subscriptions, and traveling expenses; also sixteen hundred dollars, paid by himself for board, tuition, etc. in behalf of students, without funds, sent to his care.

His expenses for eleven years exceeded his income from the college by five thousand dollars. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was embarrassed by debts; but one finds it hard to understand how the Church could suffer this noble and loyal son to struggle thus, and calmly expect him to make bricks without straw—even without clay. Chameleons are said to live on air; it seems to have been thought that Bascom could do so likewise. Of course, many virtuous people when they heard of his debts shook their heads, shrugged their shoulders, and whispered, "extravagance; what a pity he's not a good economist and content to live as a Methodist preacher ought to."

I have said that one rumor was put in circulation affecting his character and reputation as a gentleman and minister. It happened on this wise: During the angry presidential contest of 1844, when James Knox Polk and Henry Clay were candidates for the first office within the gift of the people, a friend of Bascom's, living in New York, and knowing that he was on terms of close friendship with the Kentucky statesman, wrote a confidential letter asking Bascom about Mr. Clay's private character. With the understanding that his letter was also to be considered confidential, Bascom answered telling what he believed and knew to be the truth about Mr. Clay, and in the affectionate tone in which one friend would speak of another. The seal of confidence was broken, and parts of Bascom's letter found their way into print, arousing against him the fierce wrath of Mr. Clay's political opponents. The speakers and newspapers on that side held him up to public scorn, freely ventilating the epithets which seem so dear to the hearts of many politicians, and which made so large a part of their patriotic stock in trade. Infamous charges were made against him in many newspapers, and from not a few "stumps." It was claimed that he had written an indecent letter to an old friend, and that that letter had been read by other members of the Church, who thereupon lost confidence in his Christian character. Here are extracts from Bascom's answer, which prove among other things, that he could use vigorous English.

The article from the paper to which you direct my attention is a tissue of the most stupid falsehoods, and, so far as I am concerned, there is not one word of truth in it. I had been a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church for at least eight years,

and as such filled some of the most important stations in the West, before Mr. Clay had ever seen me. Equally true is it, and Mr. Clay will attest it with more pleasure than I affirm it, that I never was indebted to Mr. Clay to the amount of a cent in my life, and my only obligations to him are on the score of friendship and good-will, to the utter exclusion of every thing implying either bounty or patronage. And the other charges of the paper are equally false and defamatory, besides being too obviously absurd and malignant to do me any harm even where I am not known. That portion of the political press which has stooped to the infamy of lying and misrepresentation to injure a man who had not interfered with the rights and functions of the press in any form, and had merely exercised the right of private judgment on a question of social justice between man and man, has deprived itself of the power of injuring me, and, by a resort to such means, has superseded the necessity of even a defense on my part.

The calumny recoiled upon his assailants, and he went on his way unscathed.

In 1850 a volume of his sermons was published, fraught with interest for the people who knew and loved him, and had heard them from his lips; but affording to others scarce a hint of his power as a preacher. In truth they were not sermons, only studies, the notes of material accumulated through nearly forty years, written at different times in many places, in blue ink, black, and red, as well as pencil; thoughts, suggestions, associations, extracts from favorite writers; ore of the mind unmolten, uncast, not the finished group in *alto rilievo*. The want of organic unity, at times even of coherence and congruity, is painfully manifest. When in the pulpit, his mind at white-heat, he fused the matter of these discourses, and gave them living form, harmonious beauty, almost irresistible power; but in the closet his efforts to do this were fruitless. Justice to his reputation demanded that they should not see the light, and he shrunk from the publication; but the stern pressure of his embarrassed finances drove him to it with a merciless force. The volume reached a sale of more than twenty thousand copies. In May, 1850, he was elected to be one of the Bishops of the Church South, and at first thought of declining the office: but the persuasion of friends and his own mature reflection led him to accept it, and he was ordained. It seemed as if the new position might re-establish him in the brilliant career of usefulness as a preacher which the injury to his throat and his taking

a professor's chair had obliged him to forego. What appeared to be the necessity of Methodism less than half a century ago, to man our new institutions of learning with the best preachers in the Connection, has turned out a serious misfortune. The teacher and the preacher, like the poet, must be born, cannot be made by man's device. The qualities which fit a man to attain eminence in the pulpit often unfit him wholly for the professor's chair, and while the duties of the class-room may prove a capital novitiate for the professor, it is doubtful if many who have become illustrious in the sacred desk have been able to adapt themselves to the routine of college life; and it is almost certain that a majority of those who tried the experiment have surrendered a large part of their influence and authority as preachers. It must be deeply regretted that Dr. Bascom ever became a college don. Had he lived long enough, his friends believe that he would, in part at least, have regained his old ascendency as the Apollos of American Methodism.

With his accustomed promptitude he set his affairs in order to begin the duties of his new office, and with his old courage started to fulfill them. His first appointment was to hold the St. Louis Conference, at Independence, Mo., in July. Cholera was raging throughout the West, and he who voyaged upon the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers that season (there were no railways then) took his life in his hand. Bishop Bascom, conscious of the danger, quietly went to his work. The rivers were low and he was delayed on the way, and although starting in what seemed good time, only reached the Conference on the fourth day of its session. He preached to the edification and comfort of all who heard him, and presided with an impressive dignity and urbane grace which gave assurance of his distinguished fitness for the high place. On his way back he preached with great effect in a number of Missouri towns, but was ill when he reached St. Louis. It was Sunday morning; he was at once asked to preach, declined on the score of his illness, but after a moment said: "If you will get a congregation, I will, with God's help, preach this afternoon—it may be my last opportunity." That was the last congregation which ever hung spell-bound on his lips. He reached Louisville a few days later, started for Lexington, his home; but after an hour's drive was obliged to return, went to bed, and never left it until,

a few weeks later, his body was carried to the church, and then to the grave. When asked, toward the close, if his faith in Christ remained strong and serene, with his old emphasis he answered, "Yes, yes, yes." On the morning of Sunday, September 8, 1850, about the time at which for so many years he had been used to enter the church of God to proclaim the truths of Christ crucified, his spirit entered the "general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven." He completed the 54th year of his age in the month that he was ordained a Bishop, and in less than four months after ceased at once to work and live on earth.

"Genius, sir!" said Dr. Johnson, "genius is labor." "Genius," said Buffon, "is patience." If these definitions be true, or even if a far larger meaning be given to the word, Dr. Bascom was a noteworthy man of genius. His temperament, narrow opportunities for improvement in early life, imperfect direction, adverse influences, prescribed limitations which he, which no man, could pass. But what Cecil said of Sir Walter Raleigh was equally true of him: "I know that he can toil terribly. He wrought, as few other men have done, to make himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed." His remarkable powers of conception, invention, sympathy, and utterance were schooled with unwearied industry, and made tributary, not to his own advancement in worldly honor or emolument, but to his Master's cause, and the loyal service of that Master's Church. We might almost fancy Bascom sitting for both the portraits Clarendon has drawn of Hampden and Falkland. Of the first, he says: "Who was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be improved on by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts;" and of the other: "Who was so severe an adorer of truth that he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble." A loftier word yet gives us the key to his character—"he endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

The heroic days of Methodism produced few men more worthy to be held in remembrance. In his life endless fame was predicted for him, so prodigal are we of the crowns with which we adorn our heroes. In thirty years his fame has shrunk to a tradition; in half a century more he will be for-

gotten save by the student of Methodist archives. What matter? "Had he not respect unto the recompense of the reward?"

Trusting that, at no distant day, the dust of Henry Bidleman Bascom may be placed in the grounds of the Vanderbilt University at Nashville, I turn from his grave in the Louisville burying-ground and betake me again to my path, growing somewhat lonely now because so many of those with whom I once took sweet counsel have fallen by the way, he among the rest; and as I muse upon ministers covetous of worldly fame, murmur in the darkness Tennyson's lines:

"We pass, the path that each man trod
Is dim, or will be dim with weeds.
What fame is left for human deeds
In endless age? It rests with God.

"O, hollow wraith of dying fame,
Fade wholly, while the soul exults,
And self infolds the large results
Of force that would have forged a name."

Art. II.—A GLIMPSE OF OLD TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY.

1 Samuel xxv, 29.

"And the soul of my Lord shall be bound up in the bundle of life (of lives) with Jehovah, thy God."

This passage seems to denote, here, nothing more than a wish that David's life might be preserved; but the form of the strange expression and its proverbial aspect intimate a higher idea: God, the source of life and the ever-flowing fountain of life, or lives. Compare Psalm xxxvi, 10, כי עמך מקור חיים, Quoniam apud te est fons vitae, (fons vitarum.) It is the fountain of *lives*, as here the bundle of *lives*, *fasciculus vitarum*, in the plural. This use of the plural (חיים, *lives*) is so constant in Hebrew that it ceases to excite our surprise, although the idea that must have given rise to such a *usus loquendi* is well worth our study. In such strange expressions as this (1 Sam. xxv, 29, and Psalms xxxvi, 10) it becomes quite significant—suggestive of thoughts which, although warranted by

the Old Testament, do not show themselves upon the surface, or obtrude themselves on the mere surface reader. The Commentary of Rabbi Tanchum on these words and those that follow is curious and deeply interesting. He refers it to the future state of the soul. This is double, and expressed by two remarkably contrasted similes—the *bundle* and the *sling*. We give the passage as found in Pocock's notes to Maimonides, "Porta Mosis," text 154, notæ 92, 93: "To some souls there is given a sublime degree, and a secure habitation with their Lord—a life immortal and not liable to dissolution. Other souls become the sport of the waves of nature; they find no security, no resting-place, but perpetual pains and unintermitting anguish, forever and forever, like stones cast out of a sling, and sent whirling about in the air, according to the strength of him who sends them. This is, in truth, the opinion of our wisest men as well as of the philosophers." It is Rabbi Tanchum's commentary on this passage, and is all designed to show the contrast, which is very strikingly brought out, between the rest, security, and blessedness denoted by the safe bundle of life to the souls inclosed within, and the unrest, the wandering, the everlasting vagrancy denoted by the figure of the sling and the souls cast out with its utmost projectile force, as would seem to be meant by the words בתוך כף הקלע, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σφενδόνης, or, as the Vulgate has most forcibly rendered it: "porro inimicorum tuorum anima *rotabitur* quasi in impetu et circulo fundae."

The only question is, Is there any ground for such an imagination as that of Tanchum in any thing that we know of the ancient belief of the Jews respecting a spirit-world? There may be, in the first place, a pure critical objection. Even if the Jews believed in a future state or a spirit world, such a thought, it might be said, would seem out of place on such a purely secular occasion. Instead of coming from a devout prophet or psalmist, instead of being the language of exhortation or devotion, it is put in the mouth of the garrulous Abigail, in what seems a mere complimentary or salutatory formula, having no connection with any thing so serious. That was the last thing she was thinking of, even if it were a doctrine of the more thoughtful Jewish mind; she only wishes to recommend herself to David, and get him to overlook the doings of her foolish husband. This seems plausible, but, after all,

the objection of itself amounts to nothing. We need not suppose the reapers of Boaz to have been unusually devout or spiritual men, or very devout at all, when they returned the salutation of their Master with the religious formula, יהיה יברכך, "Jehovah bless thee." Still, such formulas show a religious nation, at least one that had been religious, or whose national life had had a deep religious ground. See Ruth ii, 4.

The question is not what Abigail meant, exactly, but whence came the strange formula she so flippantly, and it may be unthinkingly, uses. It might have lost its serious meaning, and come to be used in a mere formal manner, as if one should say, "May you live a thousand years," or, as the Jews sometimes used that still more solemn and spiritually significant expression, "As Jehovah liveth, and as thy soul liveth." It may be that Abigail employed it in a mere temporal sense, or as a general prayer for long life and prosperity. But none of these suggestions satisfy the inquiry. There are none of them that would have given rise to the formula. They are meanings into which it might degenerate, but to which it never could have owed its birth. The more solemn must have been first. There must have been at sometime a power or depth of meaning in it corresponding to the strange power and vividness of the language. There must have been a serious reason for these peculiar words and more peculiar figures. The "binding up in the bundle of life," (or lives, צרור, something firmly bound and holding secure,) and the "casting out of the sling," (to denote the very opposite,) must have had a strong significance to give it currency as a popular formula. The more we look at it in this point of view, the more it will be seen that the argument, instead of being in the direction of this actual objection, is just the other way.

But did it have any ground in any common belief of the Jews? It may be said that the notion of Tanchum is opposed to the silence of the Old Testament, generally, respecting a future life, and especially the recognition in it of distinct states of happiness and retribution, or of blessedness and reprobation, or *casting out*, such as might seem to be denoted by "the bundle" and the sling, if we give them this application. There is reason, however, to believe that the common popular opinions among the Jews respecting a spirit-world were more fixed and

distinct (not to say more true) than the scanty intimations that barely appear under the wise reserve of the Old Testament Scriptures. For there certainly is a reserve, even what would appear to be a studied reserve, on this subject, and reasons may be assigned—with all reverence would we say it—why Deity, in the training of his peculiar people, did not encourage those views of Hades (or Sheol) and its departments which make such a figure in the poetry and mythology of the Greeks and other ancient nations. The tendency to abuse in that age of the world was greater than their moral power. This was not owing to any intellectual or spiritual incapacity, then existing, and now outgrown, which made them incapable of receiving the dogma. We should rather say that it was held back, kept in reserve, because that full plan of salvation had not yet been revealed, that full ground of faith, without which the doctrine of Hades, or the spirit-world, is capable of so much and such gross perversion. Such a belief was in the world, had been in the world from the earliest times, but the wisdom that gave us the Old Testament histories and the Old Testament worship thought it better to hold these ideas in check, or, while confirming by unmistakable intimations, to throw over them the veil of a solemn reserve, instead of giving license to the imagination. In that state of the world there was danger of more evil thoughts coming out of the doctrine than good ones. The pious soul could rest contented with the general belief that it would be well, eternally well, with those that feared God, while to the unholy and profane a more distinct doctrine of Hades might be a fountain of malignity as well as of a false theology. In such a state it would be a source of darkness rather than light, or rather, the very light that was in it would become darkness—a "darkness visible." It is evident, from some strong intimations and prohibitions that we find in the Old Testament, that superstition, manes worship, necromancy, a spirit and practice of sorcery, real or unreal, were only likely to be its products, (if made prominent before the national mind, or if not some way held in check,) than a true spiritual fear. Thus we find necromantic usages constantly springing up among the Jews, and the most severe threatenings required to prevent them. See Deut. xviii, 11: "There shall not be found in thee one who practices enchantments, or inquires of the Ob,

(אוב) or familiar spirit, or seeks to the dead, דרש אל המתים, for they are an abomination to the Lord, even every one that doeth these things." There is in all this no denying that the dead yet are; there is rather an affirmation and a confirmation of it: but it is treated as a fearfully sacred region, to which human curiosity, or any feeling of worldly interest, or desire of knowledge for worldly purposes, should not profanely approach. Compare Isaiah viii, 19; xix, 3; 2 Kings xxi, 6; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 6; Leviticus xix, 31; xx, 6. As to the manner or medium of the necromantic communication, see especially Isaiah xxix, 4, where it appears that it was not by rapping, but by a voice, or a supposed voice, coming out of the earth, והיה כאוב מארץ קולך.

The prohibitions prove, at least, the strength and the reality of the common belief in a spirit-world. This is especially exhibited in the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, who was one of those practicers of a forbidden necromancy. Homer is not stronger proof for the Greek belief in Hades than this Jewish chronicle of a similar and equally vivid notion of a spirit-world among the Jews. Their notions were very much the same, in the substantial conception, with those of the other ancient nations; very much the same, in fact, with those that have always existed, and still exist, among mankind—we may even say, are rife among us at this day. Whatever their locality, it was believed that souls might be evoked, and there were persons who claimed to have the power of holding intercourse with them. Now, in connection with this belief, nothing would be more natural and consistent than the thought of some distinction among the dead, and this distinction would be predicated, in the first place, not on the idea of separate localities, but on a difference of state. Taking the thought of what is most desirable for the spiritual existence, from the stormy experiences of this life, men would sum up its bliss and woe in the two ideas of rest and restlessness. They would think of the departed as in a condition of blessed repose, or as homeless, houseless, cast out,—just as Tanchum and Maimonides have given it from the traditions, as we may suppose, of their ancestors.

These, then, are the prominent ideas: a spirit-world—rest or unrest therein. The first belief undoubtedly existed. The

dead still had a being somehow and somewhere. But this idea could hardly have been without its accompaniments. Those we have mentioned are the most natural and primitive, and all combined might very easily form to themselves such a proverbial kind of expression as that strange one we find 1 Sam. xxv, 29. The inspired language *per se*, or when it is not simply giving us the common or current language of the day, avoids such descriptions. It does not ignore the idea, or keep it wholly back, in order to give to morality the purer sanction or the stronger motive of mere temporal interest, as the Warburtonians would say; neither does it obtrusively, or even prominently, present it. The Old Testament does certainly put a reserve upon the awful doctrine of Hades, thereby not only preventing abuse, but giving it, in fact, by the very reserve, a higher moral power than it could ever have possessed among the Grecks with all their pictures of Tartarus and Elysium. Whatever allusions are made to any future condition of the pious are all summed up in those general ideas of repose, blessedness, rest, security, trust in God, and the unreserved committing of the spirit into his hands, whatever might be the condition of stillness or activity he had determined for it. Jacob knew not whither he was going; but he could say with confidence, as life departed: "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." The patriarchs confessed that they were pilgrims and sojourners on earth, but they yielded not their hope of "a better country," of "a city *which had foundations*,"—security, permanence, rest. Moses might not enter the temporal Canaan, but he felt assured that his name was written in the Book of Life. Exod. xxxii, 32.* The Psalmist could say: "I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness,"—"Thou wilt lead me (here) by Thy counsel, and *afterward* receive me to glory." What was the confidence of any Grecian hero in his Elysium, or his Isles of the blest, however distinct or indistinct its topography, compared with such a trust in the unknown, yet believed in, as this.

On the other hand, there are expressions in the Psalms and in

* Compare Psalm lxix, 28, cxxxix, 16—יִמָּחוּ מִסֵּפֶר חַיִּים וְעִם צַדִּיקִים אַל יִכָּתֵבוּ May not this *sepher chayim*, this Book of Lives, (Psa. lxix, 28,) and the Book "in which all our members are written," (Psa. cxxxix, 16,) be the same with the צְרוֹר חַיִּים, the bundle of lives here mentioned?

the Prophets, which, if interpreted of a future state, as may readily be done without any forced exegesis, resemble much the ideas here found by Rabbi Tanchum in this passage (1 Sam. xxv, 29.) See Prov. xiv, 32: ברעתו ידחה רשע וחסה במותו צדיק, "The wicked is *driven away* in his wickedness; the righteous hath hope in his death." In its vividness and striking contrasts the language resembles that of this proverbial saying of Abigail. דחה denotes violent impulsion, and is parallel in this respect to "the soul or life sent forth (slung forth) from the hand of the sling." את נפש איביך יקלענה בתוך כף הקלע So דחה is used, (Psa. xxxv, 5) ומלאך יהוה דחה, and the Angel of the Lord driveth them forth. The other word, חסה, is just the opposite of this. Its primary sense is, to take shelter, or run for shelter to any thing. The righteous hath a shelter in his death, in contrast with the homelessness, houselessness, of the wicked soul, driven forth violently, and cast out naked into the spirit-world. There may be supposed, here, an ellipsis of the word יהוה in connection with which חסה commonly occurs; or more fully, בצל כנפי יהוה, "in the shadow of Jehovah's wings," as Psa. xxxvi, 7; lvii, 1, or חסה תחת כנפיו, "takes shelter under, etc., (Psa. xci, 4;) or חסה בסתר כנפיו "in the secret place of his wings." It is the same image of security, confidence, on the one hand, and of violent expulsion and unrest in the case of the other. The one is "bound up in the bundle of life," the other is "slung out, as out of the *middle* of the sling," when the projectile force is in its highest intensity. Compare Jer. x, 18, and especially the strong language used in Isa. lxvi, 24, where the wicked are described as cast out, דראון לכל בשר, "an abhorring to all flesh."

Samuel was in the state of rest when the voice of Saul, not the incantations of the witch, disturbed him. It is clear, from 1 Sam. xxviii, 12, that the sorceress was as much surprised as Saul at the appearance of Samuel. She evidently had no faith in her power over the holy dead. It was the other class of ghosts, the restless, "perturbed" ones, with whom had been her professional intercourse, whether we are to regard her as having some real necromantic power or as being a juggling impostor, deceiving and deceived.

"Why hast thou disquieted me?" למה הרגזתני להעלות אתי, *quare inquietasti me*, says Samuel to Saul, "in bringing me up,"

ut suscitarer, למה הרגזתני, "why hast thou aroused or disturbed me?" The word is inconsistent with the idea of lifelessness, or even of torpor. It is a complaint of broken rest. It indicates a placid yet conscious state into which the troubles and unrest of the earthly life had been painfully intruded. Is not Samuel's repose, after his toilsome life in Israel, the same as the New Testament sleep?—not torpor, but a condition of conscious blessedness in strongest contrast with the tumult of the present world. Certain modern notions have transferred to the spirit-world generally all the business and bustle of this. Even its happiness is regarded as being essentially a never-ceasing activity. Even when there is a discarding of the exceedingly gross notion of our modern spirit-rappers, there is still cherished the favorite idea of a continual restless "progress," which has taken the place of the primitive Old Testament and early Christian conception of the spiritual repose of the just. It is astonishing how strongly this thought has taken possession of the modern mind of the Church. It is assumed as a matter of course, but let one examine carefully the grounds of it, and he will be surprised to find how utterly silent are the Scriptures, Old and New, in respect to this petted idea of our latest theology. They are not merely silent; their representations are almost directly the reverse of what may be called the active, enterprising, progress-making spiritualism. How beautifully is this idea of rest set forth, (Isa. lvii, 2,) יבוא שלום ינוחו על משכבותם, *venit in pacem*, rather, as the Vulgate has it, *venit pax, requiescat in cubili suo;* LXX, ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ—"he enters into peace; they rest in their beds." The righteous is taken away—"he is gathered in (נאסף) from the evil to come." Compare what Christ says about gathering the wheat into his granary. Is all this blessed language predicated of no higher idea than that of a lifeless sleep in the grave, or even an unconscious torpor? For expressions most graphically descriptive of the opposite state, see the close of this very chapter. How it describes the unrest of the wicked, whether we predicate it of this or any other state of existence. Can there be a doubt that a contrast was intended between it and those commencing words in which the opposite ideas of quietude, security, and blessedness are so touchingly set forth: "The wicked are like the surging sea, כים נגרש, that cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt;

there is no rest, saith my God, to the wicked," The solemn announcement must include their future being even more so than their present mundane existence, dark and turbulent as it is—sin is everlasting restlessness, לא יוכל השקט.

The association of ideas is so natural that we are not surprised to find the vulgar notion of the bad soul's haunting disquietude set forth as a philosophic deduction by the wisest mind in antiquity. They are so naturalized, says Plato, in the Phaedon, 81, C, D., that they become visible, and these are the wandering spirits that haunt the earth in their horror of the purely spiritual state, and their longing desire to get back into their old bodies. Wherefore they are seen around the burying-places, and become shadowy apparitions that frighten the living, and from whom arise the stories of ghostly apparitions that have prevailed in every age. "It is the sluggish nature, the heavy, the earthly, the visible, (or the palpable to sense.) The soul that hath these is weighed down, and dragged back to the visible (or the world of sense) in its fear of the invisible, that is, of Hades, as it is said; and so it wallows around the monuments and burying-grounds, where these become visible shadowy apparitions of ghosts, *idola*, shades, or images, such as souls of this nature produce, seeing that they are not purely set free from the body, but still partake of the visible, (or the sensual,) wherefore they become objects of sight."

The imagery is different, but it is the same awful idea of unrest that is expressed by Peter and Jude. True, indeed, of the condition of the wicked in this world, but still more suggestive of their doom in the world of spirits,—"clouds are they without water, carried about by the winds; wild waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever," or, as Tanchum interprets, (1 Sam. xxv, 29:) "cast out from the sling, sent whirling, *quasi in impetu et circulo fundae*, the sport of the waves and vortices, finding nowhere any place of rest."

The locality of all this, whether of the rest or the unrest, is comparatively of little consequence. There may be blessedness in an *unterwelt* or subterranean world, (the notion that some would regard as so gross,) if Christ be there—the good Shepherd or Bishop of souls in the צלמות, or *terra umbrarum*—while

an aerial locality may be the abode of beings more evil than any upon the earth: see Ephesians ii, 2, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας ἈΕΡΟΣ, "The prince of the powers (or power, collectively) of the air." It is not extravagant to suppose that there are allusions to such a state of rest in the spirit-world presented in certain favorite expressions of the Psalms, such as, סתר אהלו, the secret place of his tabernacle. Psalms xxvii, 5; xxxii, 7, סתר כנפיך, "the hiding-place of thy wings," and "thy tabernacle of the eternities," אהלך עלמים; Psalm lxi, 4, סתר עליון, "the secret place of the Most High;" Psalm xci, 1, צל שדי, "the shadow of the Almighty." All these, through similar imagery, present the same constant idea. It is protection, security, peace, having its significance for this world if any choose to rest there, but reaching its full complement of meaning only in a state of being to which these conceptions primarily and essentially belong. Such is the sense which the devout reader easily takes now, and we may rationally believe that it was not remote to the feeling and thinking of those who first employed this kind of language. It may find its application on earth, but it is too high and holy to rest there. It doubtless has a temporal significance, but, like other things in the Old Testament diction, it has the eternal shining through it. Among others, that remarkable language, Psalm lxi, 5, אהלך עלמים, "thy tabernacle of the eternities," seems in direct contrast with the transient tabernacle of the Israelitish journeyings. It is the "tabernacle which God has pitched," and which never is to be taken down or removed.

Opposed to these delightful expressions of security and rest there are others in the Scriptures whose true significance we get by regarding them in direct contrast, and as denoting a state in all respects the reverse: such, for example, as בור יאון, rendered, "the horrible pit," more correctly *fovea strepitus*, "the roaring pit," or "the pit of the awful sounds;"* the

* There is an awful passage in the myth at the end of Plato's "Republic," whether we regard it a popular myth or tradition, or a mythological theosophism invented by the philosopher, though grounded on the popular idea. Among the purgatorial experiences is the passage of a thousand years in the fiery river until it comes round to the mouth or pit where the condemned souls meet the crises of their destiny, whether to escape their purgatorial pains or to remain in them forever. As they near this στόμιον, or mouth, they wait in awful expectation for the pit to sound, μυκήσασθαι, to roar, or bellow. This is the signal of

טיט היון, the miry clay, Psalm xl, 2; the יון כיצולה ואין מעמד, Psalm lxix, 2, the miry deep, or the ever-sinking quicksands on which there is *no standing*, no rest, no security; an ever going down deeper and deeper into perdition. To the same class belong the נחלי בליעל, "the rivers of Belial," Psalm xviii, 5. Some of these expressions remind us of the Greek notions of the rivers in Hades and of the Βόρβορος or mire in which lie the profane or the uninitiated,* the muddy, fiery torrents, the abode of souls condemned to everlasting restlessness and disappointment. We cannot suppose the Hebrew conception borrowed from them. May it not be the other way? The Oriental mind is content with a primitive conception, and seldom expands it. Hence the reserve every-where maintained in the Old Testament, as though it would hold the thought in check, rather than encourage the fancy in respect to it. It presents a few grand yet shadowy images of both conditions, such as the "gathering to the fathers," the "bundles of life," the "casting forth," the "angel driving into darkness," the "wicked man driven away in his wickedness;" and then allows no shading or retouching of the picture. The Greeks, on the other hand, when they get hold of such an idea, set no limits to their fancy. Other nations go still further. They make it sometimes not only fanciful, but monstrous and grotesque. This is the way with the Scandinavian mythology. There was a similar tendency, though far short of that extent, among the latter Jews. The sacred writers, however, were held in check, and this continued until the canon of the older inspiration was completed. Then came the Targumists, the Talmudists, and the later Rabbinical writers. Here the check seems wholly withdrawn, as is shown by the extravagance and abundance of their Targumistic paraphrases and their Talmudic fables. Tanchum was one of the soberest of the Jewish commentators, and he only professes to interpret, instead of improving upon, the ancient text. Thus, this interpretation of 1 Samuel

their eternal doom. The pains they suffer in the fiery stream are beyond conception, but the climax is the hour of suspense they experience as they near this fearful crisis. This is the crowning misery of the thousand years' purgation, *ἐνθα δὴ φόβων πολλῶν γεγονότων τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν τὸν φόβον, εἰ μυκήσαιτο τὸ στόμιον.* Though, during all this time, there are many fears, yet the fear surpasses them all lest the pit should bellow. Plato, "Rep.," 616, A.

* See the Gorgias.

xxv, 29, which he gives us, may be regarded as, in the main, faithful to the old thought of the text in its concise proverbial form; but we find no such expansions of it in the Scriptures themselves. It is not the way of the Bible to give exegesis of its own meaning. Yet such modes of expression are most significant when regarded as containing a thought so fixed and universal as to need no interpreter. Compare Daniel xii, 13, "But go thy way, Daniel, and take thy *rest*, (תנוח,) and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." תנוח is used here as denoting something which the prophet well understood, as in accordance with the common belief of his nation. It is the same with that blessed holy rest of Samuel from which Saul's earthly trouble disquieted him, when safely "bound up in the bundle of lives with the Lord his God." It is the rest described Isaiah lvii, 2, "May he rest in peace:" "*Requiescat in pace.*" This formula, too, is but another mode of saying, "Let his soul be bound up in the bundle of lives." In the mouth of the light and flippant Abigail it may have been a mere formal complimentary phrase, like the salutations of Boaz and his reapers already mentioned, *Dominus vobiscum*, or like a modern Eastern *salaam;* but in its origin it must have had a deeper significance. Had it denoted any common temporal good, and that alone, it would not have taken this highly figurative aspect and this succinct proverbial form.

There is another conclusion that Rabbi Tanchum derives from this passage, (1 Samuel xxv, 29,) which is well worthy of notice. He takes it as an unquestionable declaration of another life, implying even now a community of souls; not only of souls in the past who here had their earthly being, but of souls to be born who are yet, somehow, in the *fasciculus vitarum*, a great "bundle of life;" and he draws from it this remarkable inference as to the superiority of the Jewish nation in this knowledge (not philosophy) of the future life. "But if this be the fair intent of the words of Abigail in the text, namely, to convey this idea of another life, then is it a proof that a mystery so strange to the intellects of men, so remote from their thoughts—to the knowledge of which those most illustrious for wisdom arrive only through much labor and study, and through difficult illustrations and argumentations—that such a mystery, I say, was known in those times, and made

familiar even to the women! Surely this is a most valid argument to show that there was, in our nation, a deep and widely diffused wisdom, even as is said of them, (Deut. iv, 6,) 'surely a people wise and understanding is this great nation.'"

The expression, צרור חיים, and the prayer, והיתה נפש אדני צרורה בצרור החיים, "May the soul of my Lord be bound up in the bundle of life," Maimonides regards as the opposite of the Jewish form of excommunication on the Cereth (כרת) in the formula, "Let that soul be cut off from the people." This means, says Maimonides, ("Porta Mosis," Pocock's edition, page 154,) הכרת בעולם הזה הכרת לעולם הבא. By being exscinded (cut off) in this world, it is cut off in the *olam habba*, or world to come, and is thus opposed to that other word of Scripture, והיתה נפש אדני צרורה, "Be the soul of my Lord bound up in the bundle of life." *Quære:* Did the ideas of binding and loosing in our world what is bound or loosed in the other come from these forms into the Jewish, and from thence into the language of the Christian Church?

Cereth, Kereth, כרת, was the excision, the excommunication from the Jewish nation, from the Jewish Church, from its community of life, its *fasciculus vitarum*, or צרור חיים. Like other symbolical words of the Old Testament, it has a sense beyond the merest letter. It has a significance deepening and expanding, according to the spiritual stand-point of the interpreter, or his view of the Jewish life as merely historical, like any other national life, or as symbolical, throughout, of a far higher and more spiritual community.

Maimonides regards Kereth (כרת) as denoting annihilation. See "Porta Mosis," Pocock's edition, page 154, 10: "The most complete wretchedness is the Kereth or excision of the soul, which is its destruction—that it may no longer have continuance of being. And this is the Kereth or excision mentioned in the law; for the meaning of Kereth is the *cutting* off of the soul, as it (the law) explains and says, 'that soul shall be surely cut off'—and so they say, (our wise men,) by being cut off in this world it is cut off in the world to come, and the Scripture saith, 'Let the soul of my Lord be bound up in the bundle of life,' etc. For whoever continues in mere bodily pleasures, pursuing them alone, and rejecting truth, while ever embracing the false, is cut off from that high degree,

and remains forever mere mass or matter, separated from all life."

Some might say that Maimonides attaches too much importance to the word נפש, which is used simply to denote *person* or individual. But how came נפש, or soul, to be thus used? This is a deeper question than the common philology or the rationalizing theology can answer. We need not argue with Maimonides, in his view of annihilation, but he is right in regarding the Kereth of the law as affecting the whole being, instead of being merely a civil separation, or as having reference only to the body and the bodily life.

And so, just above this, Maimonides interprets the expression, Deut. iv, 40: יטב לך והאריך ימים, "May it be well with thee, and mayest thou prolong thy days," as the opposite of the Kereth. "And there has come to us a tradition which explains this as follows: That thou mayest prolong thy days, and that it may be well with thee forever in that world which is all good, and that thou mayest prolong thy days in the world which is all length;" that is, infinite in duration. This gives us the idea which the Jewish doctors had of the phrase, ארך ימים, length of the days, as employed in such passages as Psalm xxiii, 6, ושבתי בבית יהוה לארך ימים, "and my dwelling (my fixed abode) shall be in the house of the Lord for length of days," rightly rendered in our English version, (if this view be correct,) "I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

Art. III.—METHODIST DOCTRINAL STANDARDS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

"Split hairs as much as you like, refine till you are gray about standards, and, unless you take leave of common sense, you cannot be absurd enough to teach one thing to the children and its opposite to the congregation. It would be infamous to cram into the hearts of children a faith which we believe to be false. When the Church orders that children be taught this and this, it affirms that it believes this and this; and affirms it in relations that make its teachings peculiarly and solemnly

binding. At present, the Church certainly holds the doctrines taught in the Catechism for its children." *

Such are the conclusions to which the unbiased study of our Church history and literature have led.

We now pass to the second question:

II. What is the authority of the Methodist doctrinal standards over the teaching and denominational standing of Church members?

1. *Of our official members.*

Formal subscription to the doctrinal standards is not required of candidates for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this particular it continues the policy adopted when the Methodists were only "Societies" in the Anglican Church. "There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these 'Societies,' a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." †

Wesley frequently spoke with devout gratulation of this liberality in respect of doctrinal belief. Preaching at Glasgow in his eighty-fifth year, he said:

> There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men, in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you: you cannot be admitted into the Church or Society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion. . . . Here is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us. What Society shares it with us?

The evangelical denominations in America have learned much of this excellent Gamaliel in the matter of doctrinal liberality since then; and, like the Methodists, rely on pulpit, Sunday-school, and literary instruction for the uniform indoctrination of their adherents.

The American Church, as Wesley intended, is equally liberal. The General Rules require "only one condition" of membership. In relation to that, "are not the Articles to be considered rather as an indicatory than an obligatory dogmatic symbol, an indication to sincere men, seeking an asylum for Christian communion, of what kind of teaching they must

* "Methodist," Dec. 10, 1881. † "Discipline," ¶ 31.

expect in the new Church, but not of what they would be required to avow by subscription?"*

Once in the Church, no unofficial member can be expelled from it but for faults "sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory." Dissent from the doctrinal standards does not warrant extrusion. Inveighing against our doctrines or discipline does; because it sows dissensions, occasions schisms, gives rise to strife and every evil work; and is all the more unjustifiable in view of the fact that the offender had a general knowledge, at least, of the doctrines and discipline of the Church when he joined it, and that he is at liberty to withdraw from it at any time, and to connect himself with any branch of the Church of Christ whose tenets and rules may meet with his approval.

"The maintenance of sound doctrine" demands caution of the pastor who receives candidates for Church membership into full communion, and logically justifies the question which, under instructions from the General Conference, he puts to the applicant, namely: "Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture, as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?" and to which the candidate is expected to answer: "I do."

Whether the "Form for Receiving Persons into the Church after Probation" be constitutionally binding, in view of the General Rules, and of the fourth restrictive rule, which reads: "They (the General Conference) shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Societies," is an inquiry that is only indirectly related to the subject of our present paper. Whatever the doctrinal opinions of the individuals received, coming as they may from under the influence of communions characteristically different from the Methodist,—if they "continue to evidence their desire of salvation" under the guidance of the General Rules, they will, in all probability, soon find themselves in perfect unison with the theology of the Church. "The spiritual life of the Church is the strongest guarantee of its orthodoxy, but not its orthodoxy of its spiritual life."

2. *Of official members.*

(1.) Stewards. These are required to "be persons of solid

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 217.

piety, who both know and love the Methodist doctrine and discipline." *

(2.) Leaders. "The sub-pastoral oversight made necessary by our itinerant economy" † is most effective when all the leaders are "of sound judgment, and truly devoted to God,"‡ and particularly when they have pursued "such a course of reading and study as shall best qualify them for their work." § If the pastors recommend to these sub-pastors such books "as will tend to increase their knowledge of the Scriptures, and make them familiar with the passages best adapted to Christian edification," ‖ there can be little or no doubt that the Methodist doctrinal standards will be found among them.

(3.) Exhorters. These officials must pass an examination of moral and theological qualifications, that must be satisfactory to their pastors, before they can be licensed; and the subsequent renewal of those licenses is conditioned on the doctrinal as well as intellectual satisfaction given upon examination to church officials or appointed examiners.

The standards by which the orthodoxy of applicants for this species of ministerial license is invariably judged, are those common to Methodism, and "preserved in the memories and convictions" of the questioners.

(4.) Local Preachers. Formal acceptance of the acknowledged symbols of the Church is requisite in the case of all who become preachers in it. "Conformity to the doctrines of the Church is required by its statute law as a functional qualification for the ministry." ¶ If a member of the Church believe that he is moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel, the church of which he is a member must judge from his gifts, grace, and usefulness, or the absence of them, of the evangelical soundness of his persuasion; or, in other words, whether he be really called to preach or not.

If the Quarterly Conference be satisfied that his convictions are from the Holy Spirit, they may license him to preach, provided his "general knowledge of the Bible, and of the doctrines and usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church," as defined "in such course of studies as the Bishops shall prescribe," be found, on due examination, satisfactory to the Quarterly and,

* "Discipline," ¶ 131. † *Ibid.*, ¶ 58. ‡ *Ibid.*, ¶ 59. § *Ibid.*, ¶ 62.
‖ *Ibid.*, ¶ 62. ¶ Stevens' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. ii, p. 218.

also, to the District Conference, in case his application should come before the latter body.

All the books belonging to the prescribed course of study are, either naturally or by adoption, included in the *consensus* of Methodism on the essential doctrines of Christianity; and these the candidate must have studied sufficiently to enable him to declare his enlightened acceptance of those doctrines as therein contained.

(5.) Traveling Preachers. Whenever any local preacher is received as a probationer for the itinerant ministry, it is after he has given "satisfactory evidence of his knowledge of those particular subjects which have been recommended to his consideration." * He then repairs to his allotted field of labor, and employs a portion of his time in the study of the works prescribed by the Bishops, under authority of the General Conference—that is to say, of the Church—and is subjected to examination by a duly appointed committee at the next annual session of the Conference. The second year's experience is a repetition of the first. During these two years he has abundant opportunity to decide whether his theological beliefs coincide with the Methodist doctrinal standards or not.

But, say some, he is not questioned on this point. "Nowhere in the curriculum for admission, or orders, is a candidate in our Church asked if he believes in the doctrines taught in the standard authors. Such assent is neither asked nor given. Nowhere in the Discipline is there any record of such authors, as to who they are, or what they teach." †

These statements were true in part at the time they were written. But even then the "Discipline" said: "If he give us satisfaction . . . he may be received into full connection." ‡

The full acceptance of Methodist theology has always been ascertained or postulated; and had a probationer expressed conscientious dissent from any doctrine distinctive of the system, there is but scanty probability, if any, that he would have been received into the number of its recognized expounders and defenders.

"Assent" to our doctrinal standards has uniformly been

* "Discipline," ¶ 148.

† Rev. J. Pullman, in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1879, p. 344.

‡ "Discipline," 1876, ¶ 150.

demanded of the probationer by the common, if not by the statute, law of the Church. "All along the course there is an unvarying recognition of a system of doctrines, fairly ascertained and well understood, which the candidate cordially accepts as substantially identical with his own honest convictions, and which, therefore, he proposes to preach as agreeable to the Word of God. To this form of doctrine, whatever it may be, he is shut up by the conditions of his accepted ecclesiastical relations, and of his ordinations to the ministry; and so long as he continues to hold and occupy these relations with their legitimate obligations, he is estopped from departing from the system of faith so accepted and believed." *

Since the General Conference of 1880, every preacher, before being received into full connection with the traveling ministry, is questioned about his belief "in the doctrines taught in the standard authors," whose acquaintance he has diligently cultivated while pursuing the statutory course of study. In ¶ 152 of the "Discipline" (1880) are the questions:

Have you studied the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

After full examination, do you believe that our doctrines are in harmony with the Holy Scriptures; and will you preach and maintain them?

To each question an affirmative reply is indispensable in order to admission. Again, in ¶ 155 (Discipline) we read: "Those ministers of other evangelical Churches who may desire to unite with our Church may be received" if, among other conditions, "they shall give satisfaction to an Annual Conference . . . of their agreement with us in doctrines," etc.

The promise made by the elder, when ordained, to "be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," and the same promise made by the bishop at the time of his consecration to office, together with the injunction of the consecrating bishop, to "take heed unto thyself, and to thy doctrine," (¶ 497.) must necessarily be interpreted in the light of authoritative Methodist doctrinal standards.

The tenth rule for a "preacher's conduct" obliges him to "not mend our rules, but keep them; not for wrath, but

* Dr. Curry, in "National Repository," 1879, p. 359.

conscience' sake;" the eleventh, "to mind every point, great and small, in the Methodist Discipline." Were every preacher to do so, there would be no occasion to complain of heretical teaching, and, consequently, no need of prosecution for heresy, or the maintenance of doctrines contrary to the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Methodist standards.

Although no one will claim for our elastic system of doctrine the iron-bound completeness of creeds like the Westminster Confession, it is none the less certain that Methodists have more doctrinal harmony than most followers of more clearly defined symbols. Their internal conflicts and repeated divisions have not been the results of doctrinal controversy, but of differences on matters of ecclesiastical polity.

Ecclesiastical history does not, perhaps, present an instance of an equal number of ministers brought into contact so close, and called so frequently together, for the discussion of various subjects, among whom so much general unanimity as to doctrines . . . has prevailed, joined with so much real good-will and friendship toward each other, for so great a number of years.*

Adequate provision is made in the Discipline for the conservation of Methodist orthodoxy.

If a member of our Church shall be accused of endeavoring to sow dissension in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, the person so offending shall first be reproved by the preacher in charge, and if he persists in such pernicious practice, he shall be brought to trial, and if found guilty, expelled.†

When a minister or preacher disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion or established standards of doctrine, let the same process be observed as is directed in ¶ 209, § 1; but if the minister or preacher so offending do solemnly engage not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, in public or in private, he shall be borne with till his case be laid before the next Annual Conference, which shall determine the matter.—¶ 213.

When a bishop disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion, or established standards of doctrines, the same process shall be observed as is prescribed in ¶¶ 201, 202.—¶ 205.

Suspension from official functions, and expulsion from the ministry and membership of the Church, may follow conviction of the accused by the court before which he is tried.

* Watson's "Life of Wesley," Amer. ed., p. 240. † "Discipline," ¶ 228.

We now come to the third question.

III. What does the Word of God require as touching those who publicly dissent from the essential and distinctive doctrines of Methodism, as defined by its authoritative standards?

They have repeatedly expressed their assent to those doctrines, and pledged themselves to propagate them. But, if they have ceased to believe in them as correct representations of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, ought they not to seek an honorable release from their obligations, and more congenial denominational associations? To willingly remain under solemnly covenanted engagements, and yet to preach and teach in antagonism to them, is not to "speak every man truth with his neighbor." (Eph. iv, 25.) It is to fall into one of the most pernicious practices of Romanism, and to profess faith in a system of doctrines, by contriving to sustain the position of its professed expositor, while disbelieving and denying it. If this be not hypocrisy, what is it? Practical obedience to Christ's command: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," (Matt. v, 16,) will cause all such dissentients to sever the links which bind them to a public course of procedure opposed to their deliberate and mature convictions. Such separation would not be schism, but commendable adherence to the truth as they understand it. The Reformers of the sixteenth century, and numberless Methodists of the nineteenth, have willingly suffered it, and that without waiting for the disciplinary action of the Churches with whom they were formerly in fellowship. "It must be remembered," however, "that to be adjudged unsound in doctrine, however lawfully in form and correctly in purpose, is not the same with exclusion from the Kingdom of God. The flock is larger than any fold, and in any case the Chief Shepherd will know his own." *

The Rock River Conference plainly expressed its opinion as to what doctrinal dissentients in the ministry ought to do by kindly requesting Dr. H. W. Thomas to withdraw from the Methodist ministry. That he should decline to do so and "court an investigation, when conscious of his utter divergence from the standard of [Methodist] belief, and when sensible of his disloyalty to the vows of ordination," said "Zion's Herald"

* Dr. Curry, in the "Independent," Nov. 3, 1881.

of Sept. 29, 1881, is the strongest feature in the case. The world is free; there is no shackle upon human thought or speech except that which is self-imposed by a man's subscription to a recognized system of faith. Common honesty requires him to sever himself from a communion whose tenets are no longer his own. We do not think the "Intelligencer's" comment on the trial a bit too severe:

> We hope that this prompt and decisive action will put a check upon the confidence game of the Liberal "Artful Dodgers." Such humiliating disclosures as that just made by the Rev. Slicer—who started as a Methodist, passed into the Congregational body, and then came out all at once a full-plumaged Unitarian, and who now confesses that he was substantially a Unitarian for ten years before he avowed it, and only stayed in order to "try his new ideas" among the orthodox—ought to be made impossible by a sound public sentiment. For God's sake, gentlemen, do not play the pirate's game by staying in the Gospel ship only in the hope of demoralizing her crew, and of finally carrying her off as a prize.

Professor Robertson Smith, one of the ablest and most popular teachers in the Free Church of Scotland, and but lately deprived of his chair for published opinions on the inspiration and mode of composition of the Scriptures that were held to be antagonistic to the authoritative standards of his Church, unhesitatingly avows his judgment that such dissentients ought to withdraw. As reported by Dr. J. M. Buckley in the 'Christian Advocate" of October 13, 1881, he said:

> It is impossible for an organization to exist without a common basis of belief. If a minister preaches contrary to the standards, he should be suppressed. If I had been guilty and proved guilty of denying the standards of the Church to which I belong, but one course would have been open to the Assembly, namely, to remove me from the ministry. Ministers, indeed, who do not agree with the recognized standards which form the bond of union, should not remain. Honesty requires them not to wait to be thrust out. As I said a few moments ago, while my opinions on some points differ widely from the opinions held thereon by some others, I claim that upon the doctrines of the Church I have uttered nothing contrary to the standards.

Dr. Robert Collyer, formerly pastor of a Unitarian Church in Chicago, and now pastor of a Unitarian Church in New York, is intimately acquainted with the Methodist doctrines, and at one time proclaimed them as a local preacher. But when he

found himself no longer in unison with the system in which he had been trained, like an honorable high-souled man, he departed from it. From a sermon of his preached several years ago, at Chicago, in reply to Col. Ingersoll, and published by Rhodes & M'Clure, of Chicago, in 1879, Dr. Buckley makes the following excerpt:

Brother Thomas, my dear good friend, has no right to preach in a Methodist pulpit, and, in the days I remember, would not have preached in one to this time. There must be a certain concert of opinion, capable of being brought within fair lines, or nobody would organize or hold any thing. This is the secret of our most happy relation through all these years in this church. We hold together through a large, free, common opinion about certain grand verities. I should injure my own nature if I went over those lines. Yet men are continually going over them in the orthodox Churches. But they bear and forbear, scold a little, fret a great deal, and trust the brother may see things "different presently, or depart in peace;" and then, when there is no help for it, they lift him very gently out of the fold.*

Dr. Thomas' persistent efforts to hold and use his position as a Methodist minister, after he had found himself to be not in accord with some of its most sacredly cherished doctrines, and such as are considered as essential to the faith, cannot be defended. The question at this point is not respecting the truth of those doctrines, but whether or not they are integral parts of the recognized creed of the Church, and of such importance as to make their acceptance necessary to ministerial efficiency and the essential doctrinal unity of the body. This view of the subject is taken by not a few who are with Dr. Thomas in his dislike of the faith which he repudiates, among them Robert Collyer and Professor Swing, who confess the manifest impropriety of his continuing in a ministry whose doctrine he repudiates. Herein was Dr. Thomas' capital blunder, which neither he nor his friends can defend, and which must be condemned by all fair-minded persons as morally a great mistake. He should have gone out voluntarily, and, failing to do this, was righteously dispossessed.†

This *consensus* of opinion, as to the course a conscientious dissenter from the essential doctrines of his own Church ought to pursue, is no less agreeable to the instincts of pure and noble manhood than to the spirit of the inspired writers and the grandest examples of Church history.

But if dissentients of the type under consideration will not dissolve their relation to the Church, then what does the Word of God authorize the Church to do in the premises?

* "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881. † Dr. Curry, "Methodist," Nov., 1881.

Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, xvi, 17, answers the inquiry in the words: "I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them." Of like tenor are his instructions to Timothy, (1 Epistle vi, 3, 5:) "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness: from such withdraw thyself." Of "unruly and vain talkers," the same great organizer and administrator declared that their "mouths must be stopped." (Titus i, 10, 11.) Interpreted as these and similar instructions must be, so as not to conflict with any other injunctions of the New Testament, they do not for a moment sanction any inquisitorial measures; but they do impose upon the faithful the duty of kindly and justly exscinding the incorrigible derelict from their communion, and of stopping their mouths, so far as official utterance in the edifices owned and controlled by the Church are interested.

With the injunctions of the apostolic writers the disciplinary methods of the Methodist Church are in perfect harmony. The possibly injurious results of Methodistic liberality were once discussed in the British Conference, Wesley conclusively determined the debate by remarking:

> I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from me, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig, and I wear my own hair; but if he takes his wig off, and begins to shake the powder about my eyes, I shall consider it my duty to get quit of him as soon as possible.*

If Dr. Thomas be correctly reported, and there seems to be little or no doubt on this point, he did take off his wig and shake the powder about the eyes of his brethren. This they naturally resented. Intelligent and cultivated men, whose theological convictions are very deep and sincere, do not like to be denounced as bigoted, antiquated, erroneous, and altogether behind the times; and especially when they are convinced that the denouncer himself is the belated individual who is justly obnoxious to the same or similar charges. Nevertheless they patiently, tenderly, and respectfully bore with him until patience ceased to be a virtue, and the peace,

* Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii, p. 217.

purity, and efficiency of the Church imperiously demanded the adoption of disciplinary measures toward him. On July 15, 1881, Drs. Hatfield and Jewett formally charged him with disseminating doctrines "contrary to our Articles of Religion or established standards of doctrine," and specified the offense as consisting, first, "In denying the inspiration and authority of portions of the canonical Scriptures in such way as to antagonize the fifth Article of Religion, as found in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Second, "In denying the doctrine of atonement, as held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and embodied in the second and twentieth of her Articles of Religion, as set forth in the Discipline." Third, "In teaching a probation after death for those who die in sin, thereby antagonizing the standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the endless punishment of the wicked." *

By the Committee of Investigation convened by his Presiding Elder, and consisting of nine ministers of the Conference, these specifications were thoroughly sifted on the 6th of September, 1881. Dr. Thomas ably and eloquently defended himself, and was assisted by Drs. Miller, Sheppard, and Axtell, and also by learned lawyers as legal consulting counsel. In the issue he was pronounced guilty of the first specification by a vote of six to three; of the second, by a vote of five to four; and of the third, by a vote of eight to one. (New York "Independent.")

Formal trial by a committee of the Conference followed at its ensuing annual session. In vindication of himself, the accused avowed his belief that Methodism placed its chief emphasis "upon the life, the experience, the heart-work of religion, and that in matters of opinion it allowed the largest liberty." As it subsequently appeared, the "largest liberty" he had exercised was not within the limits of the doctrinal standards, but over and beyond them, and in contemptuous indifference to their authority. He had felt "at perfect liberty to deal with the forms or statements of those doctrines, and as far as possible to harmonize them with reason and revelation, and the deepest intuitions of the soul." ("Independent.") This confession implied, first, that the Methodist Episcopal "forms or statements" of doctrine are not in harmony with "reason and reve-

* "Independent," August 25, 1881.

lation, and the deepest intuitions of the soul;" and second, that he doubted even his own power to effect a satisfactory reconciliation.

Dr. Miller evinced no little legal and forensic ability in defense of his client, and argued his case with such success that "Dr. Thomas was acquitted, by a vote of ten to five, on the specification charging him with denying the inspiration and authority of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. On the second and third specifications, respecting the doctrine of atonement and eternal punishment, on which he was convicted, the jury stood nine to six." *

Expulsion from the ministry and membership of the Church—a species of glorifying martyrdom that the errant preacher seems to have coveted—followed this verdict of the court. But the language of one popular editor in the Church: "God be praised that there is yet energy enough in the denomination to expel a minister, though personally popular, whose teaching would strip the law of its terrors and the Gospel of its saving power," † although it voices the sentiments of the vast majority of the ministers and members of the Church, must not be construed as implying the existence of any unkind feeling toward the exscinded brother. All admired his ability and accomplishments; all conceded the purity of his character; all rejoiced in whatever good he had been enabled to do; all spoke tenderly and respectfully of him; and all would have praised the God of all grace had he seen the error of his ways, and conscientiously returned to the faith and methods of the Church. None would have blamed him had he manfully withdrawn from the Church into another fold, or done what he has done since his expulsion, namely, established a church of his own. But since he would not or could not be convinced; and because he would not retire, nor submit to the authorities he had vowed to obey, there was no alternative left but sorrowingly, yet sternly, to expel him from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

As was to be anticipated, the destructionists of all classes and the Protean theologians, whose marvelously elastic ductility endows them with the power to present an orthodox aspect one day, a heterodox frontispiece the next, and a hybrid, what-d'ye-

* "Independent," Oct. 20, 1881. † "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881.

call-it, visage the following; who are all things by turns, and nothing long; thundering Jupiters one Sabbath and "sucking doves" on the next, set up a tremendous howl of indignation. Their sympathy, like that of the freebooting fraternity whose grief is only for the burglar arrested or shot for his crime, went out to the man whom they held to be one with them in the attempt to rob the Church of "the faith once delivered to the saints." To them he is magnanimity, nobleness, heroism, personified. No Methodist will wish to deprive them of what comfort they can obtain in this way.

The secular papers, as a rule, held just and temperate language on the trial and its issue. The New York "Sun," one of the strong, keen, stern, but not always just and merciful, newspapers of the metropolis, in its issue of September 13, 1881, said of the preliminary investigation:

> The heresy of the Rev. Dr. Thomas related to three of the fundamental doctrines of Protestant orthodoxy that are maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church: the doctrines of scriptural inspiration, the atonement, and an eternal hell. There was a great deal of testimony, mainly from his own sermons and conversations, to show his heterodoxy upon these doctrines. . . . It seems to us, that both by his printed sermons, and by the testimony of witnesses to his language, the charges against him were fully proved; and that, if the Methodist Episcopal Church desires to be accounted an orthodox Protestant body, his expulsion from its ministry is necessary.

"The New York 'Tribune' also had a very discriminating editorial in the same direction." *

The deliverances of the secular censors of ecclesiastical morals on the action of the Conferential court are of similar quality to those on the Committee of preliminary Investigation.

On the 30th of November, 1881, the Judicial Conference, to which Dr. Thomas had appealed from the decision of the Rock River Annual Conference, declined, by a vote of fifteen to four, to entertain his appeal; on the ground that he had forfeited his right to be heard by willfully continuing to preach since his exclusion, and by allying himself to an ecclesiastical organization independent of and hostile to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fearless and not over-friendly critics of Methodism justify the decision of the Judicial Conference,

* "Christian Advocate," Oct. 20, 1881.

which naturally passes without question in the Church itself. While the judicial processes of the Church, in the discipline of incorrigible dissentients from its doctrinal standards, is manifestly agreeable to "God's Word written," and are all applauded by sound public sentiment, it is also gratifying to know that they have been followed by the blessing of the Great Head of the Church. The following extracts from the Chicago "Daily Inter-Ocean," of November 14, 1881, are full of interest and instruction:

Dr. Thomas was pastor of the Centenary Church for three years, and did a great work in the way of building up the congregation. People crowded the church to hear him, and no larger congregations were to be found in the city. He did not however, it is claimed, add greatly to the spiritual strength of the church. He drew to him that class of church goers whose ideas on religious subjects do not accord with the strictly orthodox, but rather tend to the liberal, or, as some call it, the heretical. None of these became members of the church, and when he left it they followed him. The membership of Centenary was, at the beginning of Dr. Thomas' pastorate, about 700, and it did not get above that figure in the three years. Some claim that it even decreased to about 500, but this is not credited by others. The class-meeting, the solid foundation upon which Methodism is built, decreased under Thomas' pastorate, and ceased to be a power in the church. At the close of his pastorate, a year ago, there were but three small classes, and they were not regularly attended.

Dr. George took charge of the church a year ago, under embarrassing circumstances. Thomas had left with the majority of the Conference against him, and a heresy trial hanging over his head. This created sympathy for him, and the man who followed him in the Centenary pulpit was supposed by the unthinking to be in some way responsible for this state of affairs. Those who were in sympathy with Dr. Thomas arrayed themselves against the Methodist Church and its representative in this pulpit. The large outside congregation, attracted to Centenary and held for three years by Dr. Thomas, left, and Dr. George came from another Conference and another State to build up a church divided against itself. He was no ordinary man, although Chicago people had not heard much of him. He was orthodox, in the extreme, perhaps, but a man of giant intellect and great powers of attraction. He appeared cold and austere when he entered the pulpit, and the little congregation at first were repelled. His voice was not so cold as his looks, and when, after the sermon, he came down from the pulpit to mingle with the people, they found him warm and hearty in his welcome. His sermons, too, were as full of originality and deep thought as those of his predecessor. His

first congregation was his smallest, and from that time the audiences have increased in size, until now they fill the church, and are as large as those attendant upon Dr. Thomas' preaching. The three small classes have increased to sixteen, and the prayer-meetings double in attendance, and the whole spiritual growth of the church such as never before in its history. The membership also has increased, and is more closely associated with the church work. The finances of a church are generally an indication of the success of a pastor. After the fire in 1871, Centenary Church had a debt of $10,000, and this gradually increased until, in 1880, the bonded debt was $14,000, and the floating debt $2,000, making a total debt of $16,000 to confront the new pastor; and part of this debt, it is said, was $500 of Dr. Thomas' salary. Dr. George at once went to work, and in less than ten months had money subscribed to pay off this entire debt, and now, practically, the church is free from debt—something never known in her history before. When he returned [from Europe] a week ago, the people did not wait for the trustees to arrange for a reception, but took it upon themselves, and gave the pastor such a greeting as could only come from those who loved him as a friend and a teacher.

There is no church in the city to-day doing a greater or better work than Centenary, and none more closely united. Dr. George is quiet and unostentatious, never catering to the public, and moving in the way he considers the path of duty. The "Inter-Ocean" believes in justice to all men, and takes this opportunity to set the facts before the public in their true light, that it may be known that Centenary Church did not cease to exist when Dr. Thomas organized the People's Church.

Receiving this as a truthful representation of the Centenary Church and its recent history, it is conclusively shown: first, that the blessing of God rests upon the Church's vindication of her doctrinal purity; second, that the unscriptural heresies of a popular preacher are far more likely "to sink the Church," than her intelligent fidelity to recognized doctrinal standards as the best attainable expositions of revealed truth; third, that contending "earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," in the spirit and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the surest means of promoting the Church's prosperity; fourth, that the Church can better spare her most eloquent sons than tolerate their violations of solemn ordination vows; and fifth, that this exciting instance in a long line of precedents is an additional reason for the zealous and loving preservation of the truth as it is in Jesus, and as it is understood by the continuous documentary *consensus* of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Art. IV.—THE BEGINNING OF LIFE.

The phrase, "Beginning of Life" in the world-system, is an old and trite one, and presents an unsolved and perplexing problem; yet it seems as fresh and attractive to the men of to-day as it did to those of the nineteenth century before our era. In fact, it appeals too strongly to our intellectual curiosity ever to be dropped out of the lines of human thought. There have been hopes and expressed beliefs that the advances in biological science, especially in embryology, would soon or later bring us to the threshold of life, so that man could understand the initial life-growths, and put them into statements of cause and effect, phrase them in formulated interactions of matter and force, just as one can state the laws of chemical reaction. The aim and the hope have been to put the genesis of life in the same scientific status with the baking of bread and the formation of water and limestone. Agassiz seemed to believe that the now closed gates of life would yet stand ajar under the persistent pressure of scientific investigation. He says:* "The time has come when scientific truth must be woven into the common life of the world: for we have reached the point where the results of science touch the very problem of existence, and all men listen for the solving of that mystery. When it will come, and how, none can say; but this much is certain, that all our researches are leading up to that question, and mankind will never rest until it is answered." But, both from the nature of the problem and from the limits of scientific thought, we are compelled to the belief that the mystery of initial life will never be solved; that there will be for us no formulated statement of the interactions of the vital and other forces, bringing the fact (for it is a *fact*, a thing done, like other facts in natural processes) of the beginning of life within scientific limits, such as we have in the tabulated interactions of matter and force in the known methods of mechanical equivalents and chemical reactions. And one of the purposes of this article is to give some reasons for this belief.

To help explain the origin of life, some draw analogies between the merely chemical and the organic movements; as when

* "Methods of Study in Natural History," p. 42.

they compare the sudden starts of crystallization in a liquid with the quick conversion of nutrient matter into living tissue by the bioplasts of that tissue, as if an analogy was a solution, and as though the marvelous dynamic flow of organic force was only the overflow of chemical rills. Others compare the birth of the first of a series with the birth of an individual in that series; thus trying to make a derivative birth-life explain the mystery of the introduction of life into the world; as if reproduction in kind was the same thing as primal origination; as if the organic natural links of a genetic connection between the individuals of a species was the same thing as the origin of the species. And yet others—and notably Bain, and Tyndall also, inferentially—have sought for a partial solution of the problem of organic existence in a new definition of matter. The proposed new definition represents matter as a "double-faced," a doubly endowed something having a physical and a spiritual side, an upper and a lower side—the lower side with its inertia, color, gravity, and other physical qualities; the higher with its spontaneity and other spiritual qualities. They would thus put a spiritual potency and promise into the nebulous mist of the primordial world-dust, so as to be able, after a measureless reach of time, to take out of it a planetary surface film of vegetable and animal life, even though ages of fiery molten matter lie between the putting in and the taking out. And they do this in the face of the established fact, that no forms of life have ever been known to survive a heat much less than that which belongs to molten rock. But with the aid of all these analogies and suggestions, the method of life's origin is still a problem unsolved. Not only the origination, but also the reproduction of life, presents a like mystery. Even the advances of science, which take us from the complex adult organism backward through the embryonic stages of growth to the structureless ovarian egg, beyond which the microscope has no range of vision, and beyond which the scalpel has no point of touch, nor the crucible any chemic tests, are no advances toward an explanation of this mystery of life. Yet in spite of repeated and inevitable failures, philosophic thought will brood intensely over the life-problem, trying to put the links of causal connection between the facts and phases of the process by which the life principle weaves an organism with perfect functions out

of the functionless ovarian egg. The problem, ever present since the beginning of the race, but never solved, is to-day as fresh as ever; and the scientific imagination will project the known modes of motion of physical forces into the changes of living matter, so as to picture the tissue-weaving of organic life under modes of mechanical and molecular action. But just as none of the operations within the range of what we call natural can explain the existence and the properties of atoms in chemistry, so nothing within the known range of chemical and mechanical actions can explain the beginning of life. The existence of atoms, and that of organic life, are both births of finite being, are both to be taken as specific outcomes of Divine energy; as breaks of a supernatural intervention, which will be forever outside of the imitations of the laboratory, outside of the formulas and laws that hold the mathematical and mechanical interactions of matter and force. Not the most profoundly cultivated imagination, playing ever so precisely according to the known modes of molecular mechanical action, can ever picture how the creative energy of the Supreme Will had its outcome in new forms of existence. The beginning of life lies outside of the domain of science, out of the reach of the swiftest, surest imagination, save under the form of vague analogies; and analogies are not solutions, for the reason that the original passage from the inorganic to the organic was rather an abrupt than a transitional one by insensible gradations.

But this persistent quest for the origin of life is not irrational, for as soon as the human faculties are sufficiently developed, this topic comes up with an original freshness. It is somewhat like the search for perpetual motion, but with this difference: that in the search along the lines of causation you are at last stopped, not by the impossible, but by *the hidden.*

To the question: Whence is the vital force derived, and what is its relation to the other forces of nature? Prof. Le Conte, speaking for himself and for many physiologists,* says: "The answer of modern science to this question is: It is derived from the lower forces of nature; it is correlated with chemical and physical forces; in all cases vital force is produced by decomposition; animals derive their vital force from the decomposi-

* "Popular Science Monthly," December, 1873.

tion of their food and their tissues." Now, in the name of well-established results in science, and in the clear light of that insight of reason which demands that every change must have an adequate cause, we deny this theory of the origin of life, and at the same time deny the *correlation* of vital and chemical forces. For correlation is a technical term in science, and denotes the *mutual convertibility*, the interchangeability, of forces. Not simply their relationship, but something more; thus, heat may disappear and electricity appear in its place; this may disappear in giving rise to chemical action, which in its turn generates heat. This mutual convertibility of heat, electricity, and chemical affinity, is well understood by the phrase, correlation of physical forces.

Now, closely connected with the persistent efforts to bridge the chasm between the living and the not-living by means of an interchanging play of chemical and vital forms, that is, to substitute a general molecular mechanism for a special life-force, is the attempt to reduce *all* the physical forces to the unity of a mutual convertibility. And if all of the seemingly diverse physical forces are ultimately reducible to one force, or are simply diverse forms of manifestation of one all-energizing force, then are we pretty far on our way toward the identity of the chemical and vital forces. But, in fact, we know of no wilder dream in the domain of science than the imaginative belief that all the forms of physical energy are capable of mutual conversion; excepting, of course, that still wilder dream, that will-force on the one hand and the attraction of gravity on the other, with all the other forces that lie between or alongside, are all capable of mutual conversion, both quantitative and qualitative.

But diversity of forces, not oneness, is the speech of nature. There is no correlation of *all* the physical forces. The force of gravity is transmitted into no other; it never plays back and forth with heat, light, or electricity, as these do with each other. A stone falling to the earth has an arrest of motion and a development of heat, but gravity suffers no change with that increment of heat. When, according to the nebular hypothesis, the matter of the sun and planets was a condensing nebulous mist, gravity was there, but distinct from the atomic forces; when the matter had condensed into a cooling surface

crust, gravity was there coactive with other forces, yet distinct from them; when the air was set free as an atmosphere, and the rain-drops fell from it, gravity was there, working with other forces of chemistry, cohesion and heat, but never interchanging with them. Moreover, the recent attempt to secure the correlation of all the physical forces by the hypothetical reduction of gravity to a mode of motion of ethereal atoms, whereby this force is regarded as a sort of mechanical pressure arising from the impact of atoms in their swift and ceaseless motion, is simply an audacity of modern thought, is only the fallacious shadow of an analogy borrowed from the mathematical mechanism of the impact of bodies. The attraction that one mass has for another is supposed to be resolved into the excess of force which the impact of these whirling, driving atoms have in one direction over their impulsive impact in other directions. But this ethereal bombardment theory may be safely and sanely relegated to the limbo of scientific vagaries; for it is an illegitimate thing in science, and was born of the belief in the oneness of all the physical forces, and carefully bred in the interests of that evolutionism which seeks to evolve all diverse existing forms from some one primal form. Forces that coact, but never interchange in all their points of contact, must be held to differ essentially. The *nexus* of the attraction of gravity which lies through the universe lies outside of the correlation of the physical forces, and it is only a pleasant fiction of thought that brings it within.

Moreover, labor has been industriously expended in trying to explain the origin of life by the inherent structural energy in the molecules of matter; that is, by spreading incipient life through the whole of inorganic nature, and thus, also, to extend the range of the correlation of forces. But decisive against the whole theory is the testimony of the chemical forces when they are taken in their unbroken, unvaried line of witness reaching through the vast geological ages back far beyond the record of plant-life; for the testimony along this vast tract of time is unimpeachable, both for the diversity and absolute uninterchangeability of certain forces within the entire range of the operation of known causes. Thus, the type of an oxygen atom has always held unchanged. Any specimens taken from the oldest Azoic rocks, or from the later Trenton limestone, or coal-

measures, living plants, rain-drops, or human tissue, present no difference of properties whatever. Any one of these will form with two hydrogen atoms a molecule of water. So, also, any hydrogen atom taken from the water of the Gulf Stream, or living plant, or coal, or meteoric iron dropped to us from the stellar spaces, will unite with oxygen to form water. These two distinct substances, made such by their peculiar special forces, have kept an immutable identity through countless interactions and measureless periods of time, and when brought into contact under proper conditions, will form water just like that which fell in drops on the Laurentian rocks of the Azoic Age. There is another test of their specific identity, immutability, and non-correlation; namely, the spectroscopic. By this method the wave-lengths of different kinds of light can be measured to the one ten-thousandth part. Determined by this test, the wave-lengths of hydrogen light in Sirius, Arcturus, and remote nebulæ have exactly the same length with those of the hydrogen generated in the laboratory. Hydrogen and oxygen atoms, which are what they are in virtue of the special forces in each, are the same the universe over and the ages through, with no correlation of their specific forces. They positively declare for a diversity of forces when nature began, and with no mutual interchange into each other since then, so far as our experiments and our records can reach. We may bind these atomic forms into compounds, and then unbind them again and again; but in all their binding and unbinding they never reach the line of mutual convertibility. They are the same now, have always been, and will be while physical nature endures. When nature flung her first shuttles in the creative weaving, she had threads for warp and woof that were distinct and unchangeable. Within the range of natural causes, and across measureless reaches of time and of space, these atomic forces have had no mutual crossing. Hence we may affirm that the doctrine of a oneness of force, at either nature's beginning or in her ongoing, is simply a crookedness of the imagination, a scientific shadow of the mind's own throwing.

Professor Maxwell, in his address before the British Association in Bradford, England, says:

> No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of atoms, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change,

and the atom is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any atom. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the atoms or the identity of their properties to the operation of the causes we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each atom to all the others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschel has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent.

The theory of the origin of life from molecular mechanics gets no help from the theory of a primal unity of force with recent diverse manifestations. Diversity of forces and harmony, not unity, is the fact at the very threshold of nature's works.

There are two views of the origin of life, to which we will now refer: one refers it to the unknown past by supposing it to be present potentially in matter; the other supposes it to have come into nature as a special intervention, as a sudden uplift, or a new direction in the processes of nature, under the creative energy of a supreme will. One is life potential in primordial inorganic matter; the other is a special life-principle "inserted into matter" at a later date. On this topic, for a bewildering looseness of scientific ideas, and as illustrating the first theory, we refer to an article in the "Popular Science Monthly," August, 1874. We refer to it, however, as an exaggerated specimen of a lack of a precise scientific education, but of which many instances meet us in all directions. This, and some that are better, are sometimes classed under the term popular science; and if they only had the hues of rhetorical brilliancy in addition to their lack of scientific truth and their tangled travesties of fact, we might be compelled to think that the plastic shaping forms of the mediæval oriental imagination had become occidental and modern. It reads:

The first appearance of organic life is the easiest step in the whole process, because nearest the inorganic kingdom. See, then, this drop of colloid matter—this protoplasm—this cell. When we have a morsel of nitrogenized colloid matter, we can easily comprehend how the attacks of oxygen will cause the evolution of these forces, which again will cause a difference of functions in different parts, which again, by this very differentiation, become organs. Without a differentiation there would be no relation of the parts, no polarity, no motion, no circulation, no

increase—the best evidence of organic life. In our most ordinary notion of a cell there is all of this, and this motion, this polarity, this circulation, can be caused by oxygen alone attacking a suitable compound. A circulation, which is but a repetition of rhythmical motion, once set up, organization is complete. Endow this with the power of inspiring other colloid and crystalloid atoms with like vibrations, attracting them into its own mass and then ejecting them again, and you have a living creature.

A little of the fast and loose play with scientific terms and phrases may sometimes be allowable, but not among the scientifically educated, nor in books intended for scientific instruction. Clear precision and statements in accord with the well-defined results of science are demanded, especially in text-books. But when we find analogy made to exactly fill the place of exact likeness; find partial put for exhaustive experiment; the part put for the whole; find instinct totally dissociated from any form of prior intelligence; find more taken out of a process than was put into it at the beginning, or inserted in it along the way; find theoretical beliefs put as final statements of science; it then becomes necessary to attend to definitions, and to demand precision and proof in regard to facts and the laws holding in the facts. It is with reference to these statements and as prompting them that we quote first from an address given by Sir John Lubbock, in York, England, 1881. He is speaking of the fertilization of flowers by insects. "The general result is, that to insects, especially to bees, we owe the beauty of our gardens, the sweetness of our fields. To their beneficent though unconscious action flowers owe their scent, their color, their honey,—nay, in many cases, even their forms. Their present shape, and varied arrangements, their brilliant colors, their honey, their sweet scent, are all due to the selection exercised by insects." Also, with a like trend of thought toward the exclusion of the supernatural within the range of nature, from inorganic molecules up through monads to man, we have the following astonishing reading: "The sunbeam comes to the earth as simply motion of ether waves, yet it is the only source of beauty, life, and power. In the growing plant, the burning coal, the flying bird, the glaring lightning, the blooming flower, the rushing cataract, the pattering rain, we see only varied manifestations of this one all-energizing force."* Such

* Steele's "Fourteen Weeks in Natural Philosophy," 1872.

statements are sometimes called popular science; but we can more precisely name them as scientific induction run wild. And we are sometimes amazed that such interpretations of the facts of nature should be set forth as if they were the well-established results of science; whereas they are rather rhetorical travesties of science and beggarly elements of a ragged philosophy. We are well aware that insects sometimes act as pollen carriers in the fertilization of plants; we also know that bees love apple-blossoms and the honey-glands of the buckwheat flower; but that the apple-drying industry now growing so rapidly, and the winter luxury of buckwheat cakes, and the chaste elegance of the fuchsia, are dependent on insect visitation, is a piece of marvelous information equal only to that other one implied in the statement, that clover-seed would be barren but for the visits of the bees to the blowing clover. Yet still more surprising is the idea that the existence of the eight honey-glands, which each buckwheat flower bears, are due to the selection exercised by insects. We had supposed that the laws of growth and special organic structure were the two main facts that had the most to do with the beauty, the fragrance, the oil-glands, of flowers and fertilization; and that the action of insects was in some cases essential, but generally either incidental or indifferent; but here we have this partial agency set forth as general. This is not exact science, but inexact confusion. Also, in regard to its wide and varied uses, we know that solar force counts for much in plant and animal life; but what shall we say to that confusing looseness of statement that makes life-force, the laws of growth, gravity, cohesion, and chemical affinity, only transmuted sunbeams? The clearest, best results of the latest science, both English and German, speak of the life-force as the co-ordinating power that weaves the varied organic tissues in fish, lion, and man out of a nutrient matter which, so far as microscope or crucible can apply their tests, is the same; yet this wondrous co-ordinating force that takes the minute ovarian egg, and, with a definite end held steadily in view, ultimately fashions the prone fish; and then, taking a similar egg, weaves out of it the tissues of erect man—this force is spoken of as transmuted sunbeams! We know that water is evaporated by solar force from land and sea; but it rises into cloud, condenses into drops, and falls as

rain, by the forces of cohesion and gravity; and these are not the modified force of solar heat, and that they should be so spoken of is simply amazing. In a branch of the oak a bud is started, grows, and then is differentiated into sepals, stamens, and pistils; and the pistil is further differentiated and finally integrated with its delicate involucral cup and its interior embryo, the promise and the potency of the future oak: and all this due to the force of sunbeams only! So, too, we have the Darwinian, or rather Häckelian, motto for an introduction to a text-book in Zoology: "Nature makes transitions; naturalists make divisions." We need only put this half-truth statement in contrast with one from Agassiz:*

In the Radiate the whole periphery of the egg is transformed into the germ, so that it becomes, by the liquefying of the yolk, a hollow sphere. In the Mollusk the germ lies above the yolk, absorbing its whole substance through the under side, thus forming a massive, close body, instead of a hollow one. In the Articulate the germ is turned in a position exactly opposite that in the Mollusk, and absorbs the yolk upon the back. In the Vertebrate the germ divides in two folds, one turning upward the other turning downward, above and below the central backbone. These four modes of development seem to exhaust the primitive sphere which is the foundation of all animal life; therefore I believe that Cuvier and Baer were right in saying that the whole animal kingdom is included under these four structural ideas.

In the presence of nature thus having four different foundations of animal structure, and holding distinctively to these through all the stages of growth with never a line of crossing between them, to put an entrance inscription to the study of animal life of "Nature makes transitions, naturalists make divisions" is not accordant to the facts. In the same extreme evolutional trend of thought we are sometimes told that starlight falling and disappearing on the human retina reappears as a nervous molecular tremor of the brain mass; this tremor disappears as motion to reappear as thought or feeling, or both. Starlight and thought, sunshine and seeds, bees and beauty, insect hunger and buckwheat-meal, are thus brought into the relation of cause and effect, are correlated like heat and electricity.

Now, in the name of science itself, and in the higher name of

* "Methods of Study," p. 36.

philosophy, we protest against these misinterpretations of the facts of nature, against these false renderings of the laws holding in the facts. It is at least a semi-materialism which puts the beginnings, the successions, the utilities and graces of life entirely within the sphere of known physical causes and blind brute agencies. It is at its best a bold physical theism, which the best science of Europe and America is discarding. It all reads like a rhetorical magic trick of trying to make the body of truth swim the seas with "fins of lead" and tail of cork.

Professor Le Conte's theory of the beginning of life is notable for two things: first, for the abrupt, sudden transitions in the life-process; and secondly, for its inconsistencies. We shall briefly refer to this theory. There are four plans of material existence, and, correspondingly, of their peculiar forces: (1) The elements and the physical forces; (2) The mineral kingdom and the chemical forces; (3) The vegetable kingdom and the vital forces; (4) The animal kingdom and the will force or volition. For plant life we have the following application of his theory: Atoms in a nascent state—that is, at the moment of their separation—have a peculiar, powerful affinity, and this nascent chemical energy, under peculiar conditions, forms organic matter and appears as vital force. Sunlight falling on green leaves is destroyed, consumed in doing the work of decomposition; it disappears as sunlight and reappears as chemical energy, and this in turn disappears in forming organic matter, to reappear as the vital force of the organism. There are two principles underlying this theory: (1) In all cases vital force is produced by decomposition; (2) The vital and the physical and the chemical forces are mutually convertible. To illustrate: the sunlight falling on green leaves disappears as light to reappear as vital force lifting matter from the mineral to the organic kingdom. Physical force does not become vital except through the chemical force, and chemical force does not become will except through vital force. The organic force of the living bodies of plants and animals may be regarded as so much force drawn from the common fund of physical and chemical forces, to be again all refunded by death and decomposition. At the conclusion of the article from which the above was taken, although not quite in the same order of statement, Professor Le Conte adds: "Let no one, from the above views, draw hasty conclu-

sions in favor of a pure materialism. Force and matter, or spirit and matter, or God and nature, these are the opposite poles of philosophy; they are the opposite poles of thought. The true domain of philosophy is to reunite these with each other."

But this theory, making will force and vital force only transmuted physical and chemical forces, is *materialism*, and no investiture of idealistic phraseology, or denial of conclusions, can save it from that reproachful category of the scheme of things. But it is the nature of error, when passing through minds that appreciate truth, to wreck itself on its own contradictions. So, by the side of the statements that transmute sunbeams into chemical force, and chemical force, rising from decomposition, into vital, and vital into volitional, we have the following:

Elements brought into contact with each other under certain physical conditions unite and rise into the plane of chemical compounds: so also elements brought into contact with each other under certain physical or chemical conditions, such as nascency, light, etc., unite and rise into the plane of organic matter. In both cases there is chemical union, but in the latter there is *one unique condition*, namely, the previous existence, then and there, of organic matter, *under the guidance of which apparently the transformation takes place.* So also physical and chemical forces are changed into vital force under physical conditions, with one altogether *unique* condition, namely, *the previous existence then and there of vital force.*

Again

What is the nature of the difference between a living and a dead organism? We can detect none, physical or chemical. All the physical and chemical forces withdrawn from the common fund of nature, and embodied in the living organism, seem to be still embodied in the dead, until, little by little, it is returned by decomposition. Yet the difference is immense, is inconceivably great. What is it that is gone, and whither is it gone? There is something here that science cannot yet understand. Yet it is just this loss which takes place in death *and before decomposition*, which is, in the highest sense, vital force.

The resultant of these two sets of differing statements leaves the question of the genesis of life unanswered, and as though it had not been asked; but at the same time it brings to view a law of nature of which there are no known exceptions, namely: life from previous life only; vital force from previous vital force only; bioplasm from previous bioplasm only. This is

the unique and universal law of generation and transmutation. But whence the previous life, vital force, bioplasm? Now, in answer to this we may say that the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation is unproved, and is discredited as well: also that no intensity of nascent chemical forces, set free even by the swiftest decomposition, can of themselves ever lift matter up to the organic plane. But there is another theory, as to the origin of the vital force, along which line of vision the strongest, clearest, best-educated eyes are now looking, and, from what they see, are affirming that, not by any known play of molecular mechanics, nor in any primordial tendencies, nor by any climatic environment co-operative with a capacity for variation, nor by nascent forces liberated by decay, has life been introduced, but by the specific creative acts of a Supreme Will, acting in "breaks of special intervention" in the courses of nature. Thus speak Dana, Dawson, Beale, Frey, Lotze, and others as eminent as they. And exact science as well as latest results in biology are, on the one hand, receding more and more from the confusing blunder of putting *methods* of nature for causes; of putting the *order* of movements for *ordaining* power, or law of action for directive agency; and from the unscientific theory that all the diverse manifestations of the physical forces are modifications of one all-energizing force; and also receding further than ever from the pseudo-dogma, that the life-principle is transmuted chemical and physical forces. And, on the other hand, the results of science are coming closer and closer to the belief in a Creative Mind working now and then in acts of specific interventions; acting as harmonious intrusions into nature; as new directions of its processes; as the introduction of a new force, which comes into nature rather like the quick process of crystallization than the slow, gradual evolution through long periods of time; and notably so in the introduction of plant, animal, and human life.

It is agreed that life is inconsistent with the nebulous state of matter, and equally well agreed that life is not consistent with a fiery molten condition of its material matrix; it is also agreed that as yet spontaneous generation has not bridged the chasm that lies abrupt and deep between the living and the not-living; therefore, exact science, standing in the clear light of these unquestioned facts, and standing on the clear, sharp edge

of that deep, abrupt chasm, drops her untold, incomplete story of the genesis of life; and philosophy, holding the clew of these denials, and standing in the axiomatic light that every effect or change must have an adequate cause, declares life, or the vital principle, to be not a developed growth, but a specific creation, the product of supernatural action.

If life is a specific, divine creation, how was it done? No answer to this question can be given. It lies outside of the sphere of science, outside of the known mathematical, mechanical, physical, and chemical formulas; outside of the correlations of the physical forces. We know that mind (human mind) acts on matter, and matter, by its forces, acts on mind. Light, as an undulation of the ether, falling on the nervous retina, can be conceived as passing into, "correlated with," a molecular tremor of the optic nerve; that tremor can be conceived as passing into the gray nervous matter of the brain, and inducing there a local molecular tremor of the mass; for up to this point there is a supposed mechanism of motion, not more difficult of conception than the passage of vibrations through the osseous parts of the middle ear; but how the mind is affected by the tremors of the nervous mass, whether the mind is impressed by them as a seal impresses the wax, or one force acts on another by a sort of catalysis, or whether the mind "reads off" the physical motions as a telegraph operator reads off the clicks of his instrument, or whether both of these operations, or a combination of them, is the fact, no man can tell. Science is mute as to the exact relations of physical and mental forces. Says Tyndall: "The passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable." "Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain occurs simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ which would enable us to pass by a process of reasoning from the one phenomenon to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why." The contact and combinations of matter with matter and the correlations of physical forces may be stated in mechanical and chemical formulas, but as spirit, or life-principle, or organic force, or coordinating agent, are forces of a different order, of a higher plane, they cannot be examined or analyzed by any of the physical tests applicable to these lower planes of action. The

law of their action must forever be hidden from the tests of microscope, scalpel, and crucible. Their interactions, though under the grasp of law, cannot be formulated chemically, mechanically, or mathematically; nor can they be delineated accurately by any physical imagery. Also, the method by which the parent gives soul to the infant organism—gives, and loses nothing in the gift—adds other existences, each equal to itself, to the living world, but is not itself diminished, is a mystery for whose solution science has neither materials nor tests, but analogies only. This being so, much more is it true that it cannot be known how the Creative Will, acting on matter and its forces, added the life-force thereto in organic forms which were made capable of transmitting their kinds through successive generations. Under the microscope we can register the order of sequences in the facts of the growth of an individual being; we can see living bioplasm transmuting nutrient and inorganic matter into nerve, muscle, bone, and membrane; can see bioplasm in the very act of bridging the chasm between the inorganic and the organic; yet the how, the law, the scientific method of that bridging, cannot be translated into chemical, mechanical, or mathematical language. The modes of motion of the bioplasm can never take the form of tabulated equivalents or correlations of force. We bear in mind the distinction between the successions of individuals in a derived life-series, and the origin of that series, or that between reproduction and origination, and therefore must aver that if, from the nature of the problem, we cannot understand how individuals within the sphere of nature reproduce their kind, much less can we understand the method of the beginning of life, which is a new form and a new force inserted into nature, and harmoniously co-operative with it. Reproduction has less of mystery than origination, and both belong to modes of action that pass through and go beyond the known limits of science.

The hope has been cherished that observation of the pre-natal stages of growth might give a knowledge of the beginning of a derived life. How much hope lies in this direction may be gathered from the reading of one of the finest chapters in the whole literature of embryology, *The Ovarian Egg*, (Agassiz. "Methods of Study in Natural History.") It is a wonderful word-picture of the evolution of an individual life under the

directive, co-ordinating life-principle. Agassiz takes the egg of a turtle to illustrate life's structural energy, although his description extends over the period only during which the history of all vertebrate eggs is the same; that is, up to the time when the future animal is only a "dim, organless, embryonic disk." We condense his remarks, but seek to substantially preserve the wonderful, changing pictures of life's pre-natal changes; for, so far as all physical tests can apply, life, like an agent external to its work, builds from the same material, so far as known, structures differing ultimately as fish, bird, reptile, ape, and man, with never a deviation from the organic line after the start in the ancestral egg. It is to be noted that it weaves these according to different structural plans, with never an interweaving, with never even a border contact, from the first throw of the shuttles in those busy, silent looms of life. "Each after its kind" is the Mosaic record of the creative act; and a close adherence to type—that is, each after its kind—is the accordant word from the latest results in biology.

For keeping the transitional phases of growth in this picture of pre-natal growth more distinctly before the mind, we may number them.

In the turtle the ovary is made up of spherical cells that become hexagonal under mutual pressure. Between these cells the ovarian egg originates, at first a mere granule, a minute mass of bioplasm, devoid of cell-wall and nucleus, yet a true morphological unit. (1) At this stage the egg differs from the surrounding clear, transparent cells only in being somewhat darker, like a drop of oil, and is composed, apparently, of two substances, oil and albumen. This minute, fertilized egg is yet so small that its diameter must be magnified a thousand times to be plainly visible to the naked eye. For its first microscopic change it forms an investing membrane called the cell-wall. (2) Some of the albumen now separates from the oily parts, and concentrates in a luminous, transparent spot on the upper side of the egg near the cell-wall, forming the Purkingean vesicle or sac, in the center of which there soon arises a small dot—the germinal dot. In this stage differentiation begins, and plan, design, purpose, now reveal themselves. The formative, the co-ordinating power, which is here connected with organic matter, is forming the instrument it will afterward use, and

hence must be regarded, in a high sense, as external to it; for this inner sac, with its germinal dot, arises just where the head parts of the little turtle will lie. Thus the lighter and more delicate substance of the egg collects where the upper cavity of the animal inclosing the nervous system and the brain are to be; while the heavy, oily part remains below, where are to be the organs of mere animal existence. Thus, when the egg seems a mere mixture of oil and albumen, a collection of material is made that foreshadows the far-off distinction between the organs of sensation and of digestion. Cephalization is had in view from the beginning. (3) Next appear numerous minute dots in the yelk near the cell-wall on the side opposite the vesicle, where they gather into clusters of twos, threes, fives, and sevens, interlaced by a net-work of clear albuminous matter, constellations, as it were, recalling the star clusters of the heavens with their empty interstellar spaces. These increase in number and size, and always remain on that side of the yelk, while on the other side of the egg is seen the transparent Purkingean vesicle almost brilliant with light. (4) Soon in turn the albumen concentrates into clusters, among which the dark, oily bodies are distributed, and presently the whole becomes redissolved; the little system of worlds seems to melt away, but soon to reform in concentric albuminous rings alternating with rings of granules around the Purkingean vesicle, and now we are reminded of Saturn in his rings. (5) Then these rings disappear, and out of the yelk loom up small spherical dots, spherules—the smaller and clearer now gathering where the nervous masses will afterward appear, and the larger and darker collecting where the lower organs will lie. Cephalization still advances; the distinction between the location of the organs of sensation and of nutrition is still retained. (6) Presently another change: the life-force now, instead of working with the two kinds of matter, seems to deal with each spherule, causing each one to assume the ordinary cell characters of outer cell-wall and inner sac; this inner sac forming on the side like the Purkingean vesicle, but, unlike it, soon floats away to the center, and in it there arises a brood of oily, crystalline bodies that multiply and grow until this inner sac, or mesoblast, is so filled with them that the outer sac, or ectoblast, becomes a mere investing halo. Then every mesoblast contracts and divides

across in both directions, separating into four parts, then into eight, then into sixteen, and so on until every cell is crowded with hundreds of minute mesoblasts, each containing the indication of a central dot, or entoblast. At this period every yelk cell is itself like a whole yelk; for each cell is as full of lesser cells as the yelk bag itself. (7) When the mesoblast has thus become subdivided into hundreds of minute spheres, the ectoblast bursts, and the new generations of cells thus set free collect in that part of the egg where the embryonic disk is to arise. This segmentation continues until the whole yelk is taken in, and soon there is formed the filmy embryonic disk, organic promise of little turtle, about which there soon form layers of white, or albumen, the outermost of which harden into a shell from the deposit of lime in the albumen.

Thus, embryological investigations teach us that, though the ovarian egg is identical, so far as we can determine by physical tests, in material and structure with the surrounding cells, yet it differs from them in the principle of life, that immaterial something which eludes all analysis, but which may be traced by its action in the material forms that express it. For it gathers other substances about the physical germ, absorbs them into it, makes them serve it until the organs are fashioned; for the *first function of an organ is to form itself.* Before the lungs breathe, they make themselves; before the stomach digests, it makes itself; before the tongue tastes, or the ear hears, or the eye sees, they make themselves; before the nerves are shaken by contact with the external world, they fashion themselves for those delicate tremors of contact; before the brain is used for thinking, or for reflex action, it weaves itself. Through all these phases and differences of growth the vital principle is active, first preparing the material and then co-ordinating it, weaving it into blood cells, nerve cells, flesh and tendon cells; each of which after its kind, under the directive life agency, makes itself according to type and plan. There is no action like this in the chemical and mechanical world. The life-force did not come up, as Le Conte says, from the lower forces of nature; it came down into them from a higher, and thenceforward was not blended with them in the unity of correlation, but in the harmony of a coactive and directive controlling relation.

Under the microscope we are carried back toward the beginning of the life of an individual being, but we are no closer to the solution of the mystery of existence. We can pass back beyond the stage where we see the structural differences of the four great branches of the animal kingdom are laid; yet, of all our scientific clews, even though to them the aid of the clearest, best-trained imagination is brought to bear, no one can lead us across the threshold of life with a measured, solid tread. This quest of the genesis of life by science is like the quest of the Holy Grail by the knights of King Arthur; and there will be no Sir Galahad to find it; for above this mystery no "clouds are broken in the sky;" no voice of a "correlated" unity ever comes up to us from the chemic molecule and the living cell; no sharpest insight of vision will ever detect the likeness of unity between radiance of spirit and radiance of sun and star. This intellectual curiosity, "whose odors haunt our dreams of the perfect oneness of all that was and is," will never find anything closer than analogy between running streams and flow of thought; will find only analogy between the graceful geometric frostings on the window-pane under a December sky and the molecular architecture of the living eye formed in an inner darkness to match an external light.

It should be remembered that we cannot make any real advance in the quest for the origin either of a derived or a primal life unless we can get an intellectual representation of it under some of the known methods of physical nature, which methods can be reduced to formulas, or stated in some terms of equivalence. Simply to note and state co-existences and sequences, as so many differentiations and integrations, is not complete science, much less is it philosophy, though it may be knowledge. When, therefore, we have the successive stages of growth in the ovarian egg, from the minute, structureless bioplast up to the animal in its full functional activities—if then we cannot state by what processes each stage has been derived from the previous one, we have no scientific solution of the problem. And since science fails to give us any intellectual representation of the *nisus* at the beginning, as well as fails to put a complete *nexus* between the changes of growth, we call this life-quest an unsolvable problem.

Speaking, then, according to the truth of facts, we are con-

strained to say that the beginning of a reproduced life under the agency of animal force, and the origin of the first life under the pressure of the Divine Will, lying, as both do, outside of the known mathematical, mechanical, and chemical processes of nature, must always remain an unsolved and an unsolvable mystery.

Art. V.—THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The Assyrian religion, as may be seen, has become decidedly solar and sidereal. The gods of the pantheon have become identified with planets and stars, thus assuming a double character, mythological and sidereal. The sun has different names (as in Egypt) at morning, evening, and midday: "the son of life," "the god of death," and "the southern sun." The same cuneiform character, whose phonetic value is *an*, means both star and deity. Merodach, "the circle of the sun," is Mercury as a morning star, and Jupiter as an evening star, and is called by different names: "the messenger of the rising sun," "the light of the heavenly spark," and so on, in the several months. The moon is "the star of Anunit" and "the star of the Tigris." The sun is "the star of the Euphrates." Mercury is "the messenger of the rising sun;" Venus, "the proclaimer of the coming sun;" Ishtar, "lady of the defenses of heaven;" Saturn, "the eldest born of the sun-god;" Jupiter is identified with several stars, as "the star of Merodach" and "the flame of the desert;" and Mars, "the star of the seven names." The stars are called "judges," and the pole-star "the judge of heaven." The colors of the garments of the Chaldean priests are symbolical of the heavenly bodies, to whose worship the priests are devoted. Red symbolizes Nergal, or Mars; blue symbolizes Nebo, or Mercury; and pale yellow symbolizes Ishtar, or Venus. Here we see the close connection between Assyrian mythology and stellar worship, and how the study of the stars became almost a religious duty.

The Assyrians possessed a regular ritual and rubric. Each day of the year was assigned to a special deity or a patron

saint, and special services and ceremonies were observed. In the "Babylonian Saints' Calendar," which is of Accadian origin, sacred rites are prescribed in honor of twenty gods of the pantheon. The Assyrian word for sabbath is *Sabattu*, "a day of rest for the heart." The sabbath was very rigidly observed. The flesh of birds and cooked fruits could not be eaten, nor garments changed, nor white robes worn. The king could not ride in his chariot; no laws could be made; no military commands issued; no medicine taken. It has been thought, however, that these restrictions refer to hebdomadal days of evil omen, while the true Assyrian sabbath was a "day of joy." * Each month was dedicated to a special god.†

"Though religious uniformity," says Rawlinson, "is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in many of the wars, and attempts seem to be made at least to diffuse every-where a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria." ‡ Again he says: "In every way, religion seems to hold a marked and prominent place in the thoughts of the people, who fight more for the honor of their gods than even of their king, and aim at extending their belief as much as their dominion." § Kings are set up and thrones cast down by the gods. Kings are responsible to the gods, and must rule in righteousness. The inscriptions contain many moral as well as political precepts, and, almost without exception, begin and end with prayer and praise to the principal deities. Assyria is "the empire of Bel," and altars are "the footstools of the great gods." ‖ Babylonian inscriptions largely concern the erection of temples. Proper names frequently contain as elements the names of one or more gods. About two thirds of nearly a thousand Assyrian names, collected by Sir H. Rawlinson, have the name of a god for their chief element. ¶ Nebuchadnezzar is high-priest of Merodach. ** Nebo is "bestower of thrones in heaven and earth." Sennacherib introduces the Assyrian religion in conquered countries. †† Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I., is raised by his subjects to the rank of a deity, as is shown on a cylinder found by General di Cesnola among the archæologica

* Lenormant, "Beginnings of History," p. 248, *et seq.*

† "Records of the Past," vol. vii, pp. 155–170, Sayce.

‡ "Herodotus," vol. i, p. 398. § "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i, p. 241.

‖ "Records of the Past," vol. xi, p. 20. ¶ "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, p. 213.

** "Records of the Past," vol. v, p. 123. †† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 27.

treasures of the Cyprian Kurium. Amar-agu before him had also been worshiped as a god.* People swear by the name of the gods and the king. Lawsuits are held in the temples.† Assurbanipal causes conquered kings to swear "to worship the great gods." ‡ A monarch's success in war or the chase is ascribed to the help of his guardian deities. Hazael (?) brings his gods to Esarhaddon, who says: "I had pity on him; those gods, I repaired their injuries, the *emblem* of Ashur, my lord, and the writing of my own name I caused to be written upon them, and I restored them to him again." § When Esarhaddon dedicates a temple, he prays that the "bull of good fortune may never cease to watch over it." ‖ Sargon is "the mandatory of Bel, the lieutenant of Ashur." He erects statues and altars to the great gods. "The god Sin shone on the top of the temples and shadowed the battlements (?)." ¶ Nabonidus erects a temple to the moon, "king of the stars upon stars," in the city of Ur, and prays: "The fear of the great divinity in the hearts of their inhabitants fix thou firmly! that they may not transgress against the divinity." "Fix thou firmly in his heart that he may never fall into sin." ** Tiglath-Pileser I. dedicates twenty-five captured gods "for the honor of the temple of the queen of glory." †† Ashur is one of his "guardian gods." He prays Anu and Bin to support the men of his government, establish the authority of his officers, bring rain, give victory, reduce hostile kings and keep them in allegiance to his descendants. ‡‡ He desires to worship "honestly with a good heart and pure trust." §§ In 2280 B.C. a powerful king of Elam, Kudur-Nankhundi, ravaged Erech, and carried off to Shushan the image of Ishtar. After 1635 years this image is recaptured and restored by Assurbanipal. Sargon sacrifices "pure victims, supreme sacrifices, expiatory holocausts;" and offers frankincense vases in glass, chiseled objects in pure silver, heavy jewels, "sculptured bulls, winged quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes, and birds, symbols of abundance of an incomparable fecundity." ‖‖ Tablets and cylinders with their sacred writings are deposited in the foundation stones of buildings. ¶¶

* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. v, p. 441.

† "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 109. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 96.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 115. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 123. ¶ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 33, *et seq.*

** *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 146–148. †† *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 15. ‡‡ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 25.

§§ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 26. ‖‖ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 55. ¶¶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 29.

Among the Assyrians and Babylonians we meet with the same fundamental religious beliefs which are common to most religions—the primal innocency of man, the introduction of sin, human responsibility, the efficacy of prayers and sacrifices, a future life, and, with less certainty, the distinction of rewards and punishments. With these beliefs are others of a superstitious character, which we have already considered. We meet also with temples, altars, libations, sacrificial victims, prayers, hymns, pompous ceremonials and processions, gorgeous vestments, feasts and fasts, singing and dancing, and learned priests. Mingled with all are uncleanness, cruelty, and gross idolatry. The images of the gods are more frequently worshiped than the gods themselves. The king unites the priestly with his regal office, and sometimes arrogates to himself the attributes of the gods. The religion has become a mighty power, and can be wielded as an instrument of tyranny.

The Assyrians had their "Book of Worship," "Book of Magic," "Book of Explanations," "Book of Prayer," and "Book of Praise." The collection of hymns Lenormant compares with the Rig-Veda of the Hindus. We meet, again and again, with passages which powerfully confirm and illustrate the Holy Scriptures. Agreeing in the main features, yet differing in details, we have accounts of the creation, the flood, the tower of Babel, and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. The fall of man is represented on seals. Here we have figures of our first parents; the tempting serpent, the "enemy of the gods," and, like the Zoroastrian Angrômainyush, "full to the brim with death;" and the fruit of the tree.* We have a curious account of the fall of the rebel angels, which we give on a future page. The flaming sword in the legend of the fight between Bel and the Dragon, and the sacred grove of Anu, guarded by a sword turning in all directions, may be compared with the "flaming sword" of Genesis iii, 24.† The Alapi, winged human-headed bulls, which guard the entrances of palaces and temples, were called *Kirubi*, Hebrew "cherubim." Another word which comes to us from Assyria is important. The name "Shed" is

* The most ancient Accadian name of Babylon, *Tin-tir-ki*, signifies "the place of the tree of life."

† Lenormant has a profound discussion on *The Kerubim and Revolving Sword* in his "Beginnings of History," chap. iii.

"given to the genii, or demi-gods, who wielded the powers of nature, represented by the winged bulls which guarded the portals, sometimes replaced by winged lions which symbolized a similar genius. This is, indeed, both in name and meaning, identical with the 'Shedim' ('devils' in our version) of Deuteronomy." Deut. xxxii, 17; Psa. cvi, 37. Shed may be identified with *Set*, an Egyptian deity, which was also a god of the *Hyksos*. It has been suggested that, if we omit the points, "the vale of Siddim" (Gen. xiv, 3, 8, 10) may be read "the valley of Shedim," where the Canaanite gods were specially worshiped. These "Shedim" were the idols of Canaan.* We call attention to another word. Lilit, "the black," was an evil spirit. The Arabian Lilith, according to the cabalistic rabbis, was said to have been the first wife of Adam, whom she deceived by taking the form of a woman. She had seven hundred and eighty-four children—all devils. She was also the goddess of impurity.† Upon the birth of the first child, Arabian nurses threw stones at the foot of the bed to drive her away. Isaiah says, (xxxiv, 14:) "The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl shall rest there and find for herself a place of rest." The Hebrew original, translated "screech-owl," is *Lilith*, or night-spirit, (לִילִית).

The seventh day, as we have seen, is already sacred, and the number seven is a most sacred number. The seven spirits warring against heaven remind us of the battle of the giants in Grecian mythology. The Babylonians believe in augury. Ezek. xxi, 21, 23. They have extensive tables of omens, derived from dreams, births, entrails, the hand, animals, objects met, and so on. Their literary remains present fables, in which animals, especially the eagle, the serpent, the fox, or jackal, the horse, the ox, and the calf possess the gift of speech, and play an important part. They strive to arrest plagues by supplications. The spirit of Heabani is raised from the dead, thus reminding us of the story of the Witch of Endor. They believe in dreams. A dream is sent to the army of Assurbani-

* "Times of Abraham," pp. 149, 150, 182.

† On the "children of God and daughters of men," of Gen. vi, 2, Lenormant has a learned discussion, full of curious material, in his recent work, "Beginnings of History," 1882.

pal: Ishtar of Arbela appears to them, and says, "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king whom my hands made;" and they rejoice.* There are a multitude of vindictive passages. We meet with the prayer to the gods: "Mightily may they injure him, and (with) a grievous curse quickly curse him." The literature is full of rhythmic imprecatory charms, translations of Accadian originals, made as early as 1600 B.C. Exorcisms are used to avert such enchantments. There were different schools of priests, who "disputed at their learned discussions about the pre-eminence of their divinities and the efficacy of their sacrifices." † Rich gifts are offered to the gods and perfect sacrifices, as "white lambs," are sacrificed. The gods give soundness of heart, soundness of flesh, healthy days, extended years, a scepter of justice, a lasting throne."‡ The sun-god, "the mighty eye," is supplicated to "remove our sin." § Again we meet with the prayer, "May they pardon my sin, my wickedness, (and) my transgression." ‖ The Accadians believed that the gods visited only the highest parts of the earth, hence the lofty eminences upon which they worshiped. The seat of the gods was the "Mountain of the East," the "Mountain of the World," like the Greek Olympus and the Hindu Meru.

The Assyrians believe in future rewards. The good man is escorted to the home of the gods by the guardian deities. That he may better pass through the judgment that awaits him, he is permitted to eat from sacred plates and drink celestial waters from sacred vessels. After having been found without fault before the gods, "the goddess Anat, the great spouse of Anu," protects him "with her sacred hands." Then Iau transports him into "a place of delights" in "the land of the silver sky," where he is provided with delicious food and the water of eternal life, and where he sings his song of "thanksgiving." ¶ The Assyrians believe in the efficacy of sacred texts or phylacteries, talismans, and amulets. Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sitzu, who contends against Esarhaddon, writes the names of the "great gods side by side," and trusts in their power. Perhaps wearing them upon his person.** Images of the gods are

* "Records of the Past," vol. i, p. 85.
† *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 18.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 17, 82.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 83, Sayce.
‖ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 151, Sayce.
¶ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, pp. 161, 162, Haveley.
** *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 112.

placed on either side of the door to guard from disease. Holy texts are also used for the same purpose. They are sometimes bound about the statues of the gods or the head of the sick man.* This may be largely an inheritance from the earlier Accadian magic.

Human sacrifices are offered—sometimes the sacrifice of the first-born. Micah vi, 7. "The Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." 2 Kings xvii, 31. We have already noticed the recovery of the two cities of Sippara, the cities of Sepharvaim. Important literary treasures have been recovered by this discovery. The Sepharvites and men of Cutha had been transplanted to Samaria by Sargon. 2 Kings xvii, 24–31. Adrammelech was probably "fire-king," an epithet of the sun-god. The latter element of the names is *melech*, king—the infamous "Moloch." Anammelech was a name of Anunit, a name so changed probably in contempt. Monumental information confirms the statement of Herodotus of the annual auction of young girls at Babylon.

It is a common punishment to throw the criminals into a furnace or den of lions or among wild bulls. This we learn from the annals of Assurbanipal. Thus Daniel is powerfully confirmed. The following judgment of Lenormant, at least, as "regards the foundation of the work," will be appreciated:

> The language of the book of Daniel, interspersed as it is in various places with Greek words, proves without doubt that the definitive translation, as we possess it, is posterior to the time of Alexander. But the foundation of the work dates much farther back; it is tinged with a very decided Babylonian tint, and certain features of the life at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors are there pictured with a truth and exactitude to which a writer a few centuries later could hardly have attained.

Portions of three books of magic have been discovered corresponding exactly to the three classes of Chaldean doctors which Daniel names together with the astrologers and divines.†

More horrible cruelty is shown in the following inscription: "If the son(s) of Sippara, of Nipur, and of Babylon, their children to war-horses offering, (let) war-horses upon their children feed, upon the watch the enemy descend, their soldiers are slain,

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 142. † "Chaldean Magic," p. 14.

(their) armies and men are slaughtered, the god of famine (devours) his soldiers for food, the face of his soldiers he dismays, and with him goes." * (Diomedes, son of Mars and Cyrene, king of the Biscares of Thrace, fed his mares on human flesh. He was slain by Hercules, and was devoured by the same mares, which then became tame.)

Assyrian conquests were carried on with all manner of cruelties. The dead were beheaded and the heads stacked. The bodies were thrown in heaps or left scattered upon the field. The living were mutilated. Eyes were plucked out; hands, ears, noses, cut off; many were flayed alive. Their laws were most severe. Criminals were cast into furnaces, or thrown to lions and mad bulls. Their religion was full of all cruelties. Human sacrifices were offered, and women prostituted in their temples.

The Assyrian religion was not unlike that of other branches of the Semitic race. There were the same gods worshiped by the Assyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Himyarites, Arabians, and Edomites. Wherever our information is sufficiently full we meet with the same cruelties. The Phœnician religion is defined by Movers as "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of nature, an adoration of the objects in which these forces were seen, and where they appeared most active." "Terror was the inherent principle of this religion," says Creuzer; "all its rites were blood-stained, and all its ceremonies were surrounded by gloomy images. When we consider the abstinences, the voluntary tortures, and, above all, the horrible sacrifices imposed as a duty on the living, we no longer wonder that they envied the repose of the dead. This religion silenced all the best feelings of human nature, degraded men's minds by a superstition alternately cruel and profligate, and we may seek in vain for any influence for good it could have exercised on the nation." Lenormant agrees with these writers when he says: "Round this religious system gathered, in the external and public worship, a host of frightful debaucheries, orgies, and prostitutions. . . . The Canaanites were remarkable for the atrocious cruelty that stamped all the ceremonies of their worship and the precepts of their religion." † "All the atrocities of the Phœnician worship were practiced at Carthage, particu-

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii, p. 121, Sayce.

† "Ancient Hist. East," vol. ii, pp. 222, 223.

larly the burning of children. These barbarous sacrifices took place every year, and were frightfully multiplied on the occasion of public calamities, in order to appease the wrath of the gods." *

The Scripture estimate of the character of the Assyrians is fully confirmed by the monuments. The Scriptures call them "a fierce people," (Isa. xxxiii, 19,) and their city "a bloody city, full of lies and robbery." Nah. iii, 1. They are violent and treacherous, covenant-breakers, who "despise the cities and regard no man." Isa. xxxiii, 1, 8. Their pride calls down upon them the divine wrath. Ezek. xxxi, 10, 11; Isa. x, 7–14; xxxvii, 24–28; Zeph. ii, 15. Their national emblem is a lion that "tears in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangles for his lioness, and fills his holes with prey, and his dens with raven." Nahum ii, 11–13. When Nineveh repented under the preaching of Jonah, it was by turning from evil and violence. Jonah iii, 8.

The following curse is pronounced against him who removes his neighbors' landmarks:

If a leader, not of low degree, if a citizen shall this plot of land injure or destroy the boundary-stone so that it shall not be conspicuous, shall remove this stone (here) placed, whether an injurious person or a brother, whether as one who would take it away, whether as an evil person, whether as an enemy or any other person, or the son of the owner of the land, shall act falsely, shall tamper with it, into water, into fire shall cast it, with a stone shall break it, from the hand of Merodach-zakir-iskur, and from his seed shall remove it, whether above or below shall break it in pieces, may the gods Anu, Bel, Hea, Ninip, and Gula, the lords of this land, and all the gods whose memorials are made known on this tablet, violently make his name desolate; with unspeakable curse may they curse him; with utter desolation may they desolate him; may they gather his posterity together for evil and not for good; until the day of the departure of his life may he come to ruin, while the gods Shamas and Marduk rend him asunder; and may his name be trodden down.†

Probably the Assyrians believed that such curses had power within themselves, in the very words used, to work out their own fulfillment.

* "Ancient Hist. East," vol. ii, p. 280.

† Inscription of Merodach-Baladan IV., "Records of the Past," vol. ix, pp. 35, 36, Rodwell. Cf. Num. xxii, 5, 7.

The following prayer the loyal subject offered in behalf of his sovereign:

Length of days,
Long, lasting years,
A strong sword,
A long life,
Extended years of glory,
Pre-eminence among kings,
Grant ye to the king, my lord,
Who has given such gifts
To his gods.

The bounds vast and wide of his empire,
And of his rule,
May he enlarge and may he complete;
Holding over all kings supremacy,
And royalty, and empire,
May he attain to gray hairs and old age.

And after the life of these days,
In the feast of the silver mountains, the heavenly courts,
The abode of blessedness;
And in the light
Of the Happy Fields,
May he dwell a life
Eternal, holy,
In the presence of the gods
Who inhabit Assyria.*

The soul of the departed, like a bird with shining wings, soars away to the skies. In heaven the good man is clothed in white raiment, and is fed by the gods in the company of the blest with celestial food and ambrosial drinks.

If we cannot deny some beauty to the prayer just given, we must allow a spirit of devotion as the inspiration of the rules for prayer which we take from an old liturgical collection:

Pray thou, pray thou!
Before the couch pray!
Before the throne pray!
Before the canopy pray!
Before the *nadni*, the dwelling of lofty head, pray!
Before the light of dawn pray
Before the fire pray!
Before the dawn pray!
By the tablets and books pray!
By the fire and . . . pray!
By the hearth pray!

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, pp. 133, 134, Talbot.

By the threshold pray!
By the side of the foundation pray!
By the side of the well (pool) pray!
By the side of the river (canal) pray!
By the side of the boat pray!
In riding in the boat pray!
In leaving the boat pray!
At the rising of the sun pray!
At the setting of the sun pray!
To the gods of heaven through the altars of the earth pray!
By the altar of god or goddess pray!
In leaving or entering the city pray!
In leaving or entering the great gate pray!
In leaving or entering the house pray!
In the street pray!
In the temple pray!
On the road pray!*

Surely, if these rules were observed, the Assyrians were a religious people. Their religious character is further shown from the fact that the most prosaic astronomical and astrological tablets frequently end with a prayer to the gods. Perhaps, like the Athenians to whom Paul preached, the Assyrians were "in all things somewhat superstitious or religious," (Acts xvii, 22, Revised Version,) while their cities were "full of idols," (verse 16.)

The gods visit and comfort the righteous man when he is sick. "But Ishtar, who in her dwelling is grieved concerning him, descends from her mountain, unvisited by men. To the door of the sick man she comes. The sick man listens. 'Who is there? who comes?' 'It is Ishtar.'" In company with other gods she enters. They give him "bright liquor" from shining cups, and pray that the sun-god may "receive his soul into his holy hands."†

We meet with real penitential prayer, sometimes clothed in imagery not unlike that of the Psalms of David. The following Babylonian penitential psalm is called forth from a soul in deep distress. It is the cry of the soul after God.

O my Lord! my sins are many,
My trespasses are great;
And the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease,
And with sickness and sorrow.

* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. vi, pp. 541, 542, Boscawen.
† "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 135, Talbot.

I fainted; but no one stretched forth his hand!
I groaned; but no one drew nigh!
I cried aloud; but no one heard!
O Lord! do not abandon thy servant!
In the waters of the great deep, seize his hand!
The sins which he has committed turn thou to righteousness!*

Many passages of Scripture will be suggested with which such religious utterances as the following may be compared:

Who can compare with thee, O Ninip, son of Bel? Thou didst not stretch forth thy hand (in vain.) . . . O thou! thy words, who can learn? Who can rival them? Among the gods, thy brothers, thou hast no equal. . . . In heaven, who is great? Thou alone art great! On earth, who is great? Thou alone art great! When thy voice resounds on heaven the gods fall prostrate. When thy voice resounds on earth the genii kiss the dust. . . . Keep thou the door of my lips! Guard thou my hands, O Lord of light! . . . O Sun, to the lifting up of my hands (in prayer) show favor! . . . O my God, my sins are seven times seven! . . . Before his god in prayer he fell flat on his face.

Self-mutilation was practiced. "He who stabs his flesh in honor of Ishtar, the goddess unrivaled, like the stars of heaven he shall shine; like the river of might he shall flow." This reminds us of the false prophets against whom Elijah contended.†

Justin Martyr says that Jewish exorcists made use of magic knots to charm away disease. The Babylonians did the same. A woman's linen kerchief is twice knotted with seven knots, sprinkled with white wine, and bound about the sick man. He is then sprinkled with holy water. If all this be done, then the gods will protect him, and Merodach will "find him a happy habitation."‡ This looks very much like "extreme unction." In this case the disease is not cured, but the man is saved. Since the Babylonians believed that diseases were unused by evil spirits, these diseases could be cured by spiritual forces. This, again, is the old Accadian magic. We meet also with the belief that sins might be inherited from the parents, or imputed from an elder brother, or even some unknown person.§

The Assyrians knew one supreme God. At Erech was a

* "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 136, Talbot.
† "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," vol. ii, pp. 51, 52, 57–60.
‡ "Records of the Past," vol. iii, p. 141. § *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 149–141.

school of monotheism as late as the times of the Romans. Tablets found at Warka are now in the British Museum, containing inscriptions, in which the only name of the deity is "God One," and this name is many times repeated. Says Lenormant, "When we penetrate through the gross surface of polytheism, which it had acquired from popular superstition, and revert to the original and higher conceptions, we shall find the whole based on the idea of the unity of the Deity, the last relic of the primitive revelation disfigured by and lost in the monstrous ideas of pantheism, confounding the creature with the Creator, and transforming the Deity into a god-world, whose manifestations are to be found in all the phenomena of nature." * Polytheism is shown in the early inscriptions. The temple of the moon-god was built by King Ligbagas in Ur, the most sacred city of the ancient Chaldeans. The same king erected temples to Ishtar at Erech; Samas at Larsa; Il, "the king of the gods," at Nirgulla; Bel at Nipur, and a separate one to Belat at the same place. Perhaps in the reign of Ligbagas, instead of Sargon I., may be placed the great religious reformation. "In truth, polytheism was stamped on the earth in temples and towers, and the warlike or beneficent works of kings. Rimmon was the patron of the all-important irrigation; Sin, of brickmaking and building; Nergal, of war. Polytheism glittered in scrolls of light in the constellations of the firmament; it measured days and months, and years and cycles, and by its auguries of good or ill decided the least ways of house-life and the greatest collisions of nations." † Sin and Nebo were worshiped at Haran, which remained a center of heathenism down to the fifth century of the Christian era. Such was the polytheism of both the first and second home of Abraham.

It is most interesting to compare the Chaldean account of the creation with that of Genesis. Our first account we take from Berosus, a Babylonian priest, who lived about 330 to 260 B.C. There is no doubt, as may be learned from the inscriptions, if compared with Berosus, that he wrote in perfect good faith. Berosus says that in the first year there came from the Erythræan Sea, Oannes, an animal endowed with reason. In form he was half man and half fish, and his language human. He

* "Ancient Hist. East," vol. i, p. 450. † "Times of Abraham," p. 12.

taught the people letters, arts, and sciences; he taught also concerning the origin of mankind. Berosus gives us his account: According to the teaching of Oannes, there were in the beginning only darkness and an abyss of waters. In this abyss dwelt monsters formed of different parts of different animals. Their queen and mother was Omoroka, (Um-Uruk, "the mother of Uruk,") in the Chaldean language *Thavatth*, (*Tiamat*,) in Greek *Thalassa*, "the sea." Now Belus came, attacked Omoroka, and cut her into two parts. He destroyed the monsters of the deep, and made of the two parts of Omoroka heaven and earth. "All this," says Berosus, "was an allegorical description of nature." The meaning seems to be this: Belus divided the darkness, separated the waters from the waters, and reduced all to order. The race of animals then existing, not being able to bear the changed physical conditions, died. As the account further goes: Belus then cut off his own head, and the other gods mixed the blood with earth and made men and animals as they now exist. Belus also made the sun, moon, planets, and stars.

According to Damascius, Sigê was the primitive substance of the universe. From Sigê came Apason and his wife, Tauthe, who is called the mother of the gods. Her first-born is Moymis, "the intelligent world." She also bore Dakhe and Dakhus; and again Kissare and Assorus, from whom were Anus, Illinus, and Aus. Belus, the maker of the world, is the son of Anus and Dauke.

We leave these accounts for a moment, and look at the first of the creation tablets. Here we read:

> When the upper region was not yet called heaven, and the lower region was not yet called earth, and the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms, then the chaos of waters gave birth to all of them, and the waters were gathered into one place. No men yet dwelt together; no animals yet wandered about; none of the gods had yet been born. Their names were not spoken; their attributes were not known. Then the eldest of the gods, Lakhmu and Lakhamu, were born and grew up. . . . Assur and Kissur were born next, and lived through long periods. Anu . . . . The rest of the tablet is wanting.*

In this tablet the first existence is *Mummu Tiamatu*, "the chaos of waters," the Moymis and Tauthe of Damascius.

* "Records of the Past," vol. v, pp. 113–116, Talbot.

Tiamatu is the Thavatth of Berosus. The Assyrian and Babylonian artists represent Tiamatu as "a monster in whom all the disorder of the primitive creation was reflected," having "the body, the head, and the fore-paws of a lion; the wings, the tail, and the hind-claws of an eagle; while the neck and upper part of the body are covered with feathers or scales." The same word is the Hebrew *tĕhôm*, "the deep," of Gen. i, 2. This "deep" is *tohû*, "without form." Both Genesis and the monuments make a watery chaos precede the formation of the world, and use the same word to name this chaos, and with this account Damascius and Berosus agree. Lakhmu and Lakhamu, male and female personifications of motion and production, are Dakhe and Dakhus, the *rûach*, "spirit," of Genesis. The next step, the creation of Assur and Kissur, agrees with Damascius' account of the creation of Assorus and Kissare. Next, in the Chaldean tablet, we have the name of Anu; but, unfortunately, the remainder has not been recovered. Perhaps it related the creation of the great gods, Anu, Elum, and Hea, the Anus, Illinus, and Aus of Damascius, symbolizing heaven, earth, and sea. The Oannes of Berosus has been identified with Aus and Hea. Sigê is the Accadian Zicu or Zicara, "the heaven;" and Apason is Apsu, "the deep."

If all of these be mere coincidences, the coincidences are certainly very remarkable. We cannot but conclude, upon careful investigation, that all these accounts of the creation have a common basis. The Phœnician cosmogony may be profitably compared, and we shall find the same general agreement. Therein we find as its basis a trinity, *Baau*, or chaos, spirit or desire, and *Môt*. Môt is interpreted as "slime," and is also termed *Ulâmos*, or "time;" and again the primordial "egg," out of which came heaven and earth. This trinity corresponds to the Accadian trinity, Anu, Hea, and Mulge, already mentioned. The wife of Hea is Davkina, or Dauke, which has been identified with *Bohu* of Gen. i, 2, and Phœnician Baau. "Baau is said to have been the wife of the wind, Kolpia; and we thus get a striking resemblance to the Chaldean Triad of the Demiurge, the sky and the earth, whose spirit broods over the abyss, and is wedded to Baau. Even the language of the biblical account, in which *Elohim* 'carves' the heaven and the earth out of a primeval chaos, his spirit brood-

ing over the deep and wasteness of the earth, shows a similar coloring."*

Much of the Chaldean account of the creation has not been recovered. We must be content to pass on to the fifth tablet, which gives the work of the fourth day of Genesis. We read as follows:

He constructed dwellings for the great gods. He fixed up constellations whose figures were like animals. He made the year. Into four quarters he divided it. Twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three. And for the days of the year he appointed festivals. He made dwellings for the planets; for their rising and setting. And that nothing should go amiss, and that the course of none should be retarded, he placed with them the dwelling of Bel and Hea. He opened great gates on every side; he made strong the portals, on the left hand and on the right. In the center he placed luminaries. The moon he appointed to rule the night, and to wander through the night until the dawn of day. Every month, without fail, he made holy assembly days. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, it shot forth its horns to illuminate the heavens. On the seventh day he appointed a holy day, and to cease from all business he commanded. Then arose the sun in the horizon of heaven (in glory). †

We have here the creation of the heavenly bodies, the appointment of the moon "to rule the night," the division of the year into seasons, months, and days, and the appointment of festivals. Compare the statement of Genesis: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," (i, 14.) The resemblance is striking. A most interesting part of this tablet is that concerning the fixing up of the constellations, "whose figures were like animals." We must date back the beginnings of astronomy to remotest antiquity.

A portion of the seventh tablet is saved, and gives the creation of "cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field;" corresponding with the "beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind," of the sixth creation day of Genesis (i, 25). Not only in substance, but also in

* Letter of Prof. Sayce to "The Academy," March 20, 1875; quoted by Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," pp. 123, 124.

† "Records of the Past," vol. xi, pp. 117, 118, Talbot.

the order of creation, the tablets agree remarkably with the Bible.*

A second account of the creation, coming from Cuthah, and older than our first account, shows marked differences, while agreeing in important particulars with Berosus. According to this tablet, the first creation was one of monsters and giants, "men with the bodies of birds of the desert, human beings with the faces of ravens;" "the terrible brood of Tihamat, the principle of chaos and night. Among them were seven kings, all brothers, the sons of King Banini and Queen Milili, who ruled over a Titanic people 6,000 in number. The eldest of the brothers was called 'the thunder-bolt,' which gives us a clew to the atmospheric origin of the myth." These giants are at last defeated and destroyed by the gods.† These legends, in their origin, probably date back centuries before the time of Abraham. We may hope that the spade will yet uncover the Accadian originals.

An Assyrian tablet contains a most curious account of the revolt of the angels. At the first, all was peace and harmony in heaven. When God laid the foundations of the earth, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," (Job xxxviii, 7,) but there were angels who "kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation." Jude 6. According to this tablet, while the hosts of heaven were engaged in holy song, the signal for revolt was given; upon which part of the heavenly hosts broke out in curses, and were cast out of heaven. We give a portion of this interesting legend as translated by Talbot:

> The Divine Being spoke three times, the commencement of a psalm. The god of holy songs, Lord of religion and worship, seated a thousand singers and musicians, and established a choral band, who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes. . . . . With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy song, spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise. The god of the bright crown, with a wish to summon his adherents, sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead; which to those rebel angels prohibited return. He stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who were his enemies. In their room he created mankind. The first who received life dwelt along with him.

* Later translations of the creation tablets make a few important changes, which, however, do not affect the value of the comparisons suggested in this paper.

† "Babylonian Literature," p. 33.

May he give them strength never to neglect his word, following the serpent's voice whom his hands had made. And may the god of divine speech expel from his five thousand that wicked thousand who, in the midst of his heavenly song, had shouted evil blasphemies! The god Ashur, who had seen the malice of these gods who deserted their allegiance to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.*

It may be noticed in this connection that the mediæval Church also believed that man was created to fill the void left by the rebel angels.

The epic of Izdubar is, in all respects, a most important production. Any account of the Assyrian religion which neglects this great national epic will be very defective indeed. We endeavor to furnish a general outline of this mythological and religious work: The husband of Ishtar—Dumzi or Dumuzi by name, (Tamzi, Tammuz, of Hebrew history, "the son of life.") the analogue of Adonis—is the chief of Erech. After his death she rules in his stead. She begins to lead a dissolute life, and soon becomes the scandal of the kingdom. Humbaba, or Hubaba, a powerful Elamite chieftain, invades and conquers the kingdom. (*Humba* was an Elamite god.) This occurs about 2280 B. C.

Izdubar (this is but a provisional conjectural reading: George Smith identifies him with Nimrod) has a dream. The stars of heaven fall. They strike him on the back. He beholds a terrible being, with claws like a lion, standing over him. He calls upon the wise men to interpret the dream. He offers them rich rewards if they prove successful. None of them are able to show the interpretation of the dream. Izdubar is sorely troubled.

He thinks of Heabani, "creation of Hea." This monster is a satyr which avoids human society, dwells in a forest in a cave by himself, by the side of a great river. His only companions are the wild beasts which surround his gloomy dwelling. He is represented as half man and half bull, somewhat resembling the Minotaur or Pan of the Greeks. Hea has endowed him with great wisdom, for which he has become renowned. Izdubar calls upon him to interpret the dream. At first he is angry because his solitude has been thus invaded. At length the god Samas persuades him, and Zaidu, "the hunter," son of

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii, pp. 127, 128.

Izdubar, with the help of two dissolute women, Harimtu and Samhat, entices him to Erech.

Izdubar prays and offers sacrifices to Samas and Ishtar. After this, in company with Heabani, he goes to the palace of Humbaba. Humbaba is slain, and the two heroes carry away trophies of their exploit. Izdubar now becomes king of Erech.

Ishtar proposes marriage to Izdubar, but is refused. She is angry, goes to heaven, and complains to Anu and Anatu. A "divine bull" is created to slay Izdubar, but the latter procures the assistance of Heabani, and they slay the "bull." (Representations of this conflict are to be found on the monuments.) Ishtar rages, and curses Izdubar. She goes to Hades to summon unearthly powers against him, "to the house where all meet, the dwelling of the god Irkalla—to the home men enter, but cannot depart from; to the road men go, but cannot return. The abode of darkness and famine, where earth is their food, . . . ghoul-like birds flutter their wings there." It is not an easy matter to gain admittance to this realm of the shades, for there are seven gates which must be passed, and each gate is well guarded. She applies for admission at the first of the seven gates, threatening to let out the dead as vampires if her request be not granted. After considerable difficulty the porter is commanded by Ninkigal, "goddess of the great region," to admit her. Through the seven gates she passes, but at each is compelled to leave some portion of her attire and ornaments—her crown, her earrings, her necklace, her mantle, her bracelet, her tunic—until, naked at last, she appears in the presence of Ninkigal, who derides her. Namtar, the plague demon, smites her for her sins with loathsome diseases in the sides, eyes, feet, heart, head, and limbs. She still nurses wrath and jealousy against Izdubar.

There is great grief upon the earth at her departure, for every thing goes wrong. Upon the petition of the gods, Hea, "lord of deep thoughts," undertakes her release. He creates *Uddusu-namir*, a monster half man and half bitch, and, like Cerberus of the classics, having more than one head. First he forms a figure of clay, and then breathes into it, and it is alive. This monster he sends to Hades with the command to secure the release of Ishtar by magic rites. He succeeds, although at first Ninkigal only strikes her forehead and bites

her finger. Namtar heals Ishtar of her disease by pouring upon her the water of life, and she returns to earth receiving back her clothing and jewels as she passes through the seven gates.

Now Anatu, the mother of Ishtar, plots against Izdubar. She smites him with a terrible disease. His friend and ally, Heabani, is killed by an unknown reptile or insect, called *Tambukki*. Izdubar is weighed down with great grief, and for advice goes in search of his father, Hasisadra, son of Ubaratutu. He reaches a fabulous region, in which there are monsters with feet resting in hell and heads towering into the heavens. They possess great power, and control the sun. A scorpion man with his wife, "burning with terribleness," guards the gate. Izdubar reveals to them his purpose. The monsters endeavor to dissuade him from proceeding, and describe in unmeasured terms the dangers of the journey. He pleads the necessity, and they permit him to pass. He reaches the sea-coast, and his progress is again barred by two women, Siduri and Sabitu. Having prevailed with them, he meets with a boatman, Nes-Hea, and with him journeys by water. Through many adventures and perils, in which we will not follow him, he at length reaches the land where his father dwells, and unfolds his mission. In the course of his reply Hasisadra says, "Spoiling and death together exist; of death the image has not been seen. The man or servant, on approaching death, the spirit of the great gods takes his hand. The goddess Mamitu, maker of fate, to them their fate brings. She has fixed death and life; of death the day is not known." Again Hasisadra, who is the Chaldean Noah, says, "Be revealed to Izdubar, the Concealed," and relates the story of the flood. It is in substance as follows: Hasisadra is ordered to build a ship six hundred cubits long and sixty cubits wide, and the same number in height. He is commanded to "cause also the seed of life of every kind to go up into the midst of the ship." There must be placed in the ship "thy grain, thy furniture, thy goods, thy wealth, thy women slaves, thy handmaids, and the sons of the host (the beasts) of the field, the wild animals of the field." The ship is made according to directions, and covered outside and inside with pitch. Hasisadra makes a trial trip, and is satisfied with his work. He is forewarned of

the time when the flood will be sent upon the earth. He enters the ship with his family and people. All animals and all his possessions are brought into the ship. He shuts to the door. A black cloud rises in the sky. The thunders roar; the rain descends in torrents; the flood reaches heaven. The earth is made a waste and the wicked are destroyed. There perish all "living beings from the face of the earth." "The brother saw his brother no more; men knew each other no longer." Only the gods who seek refuge in "the heaven of Anu" are saved. "Six days and nights passed, the wind, the whirlwind, (and) the storm overwhelmed. On the seventh day at its approach the rain was stayed, the raging whirlwind, which had smitten like an earthquake, was quieted. The sea began to dry, and the wind and deluge ended." Corpses of men are now seen floating on the waters "like sea-weed." The ship stands on the mountain of Nizir. After seven days a dove, a swallow, and a raven are sent forth. The dove and swallow return. The raven returns not, thus showing that the waters were drying from the face of the earth. Hasisadra goes out from the ship, and having erected an altar, sacrifices to the gods. A rainbow appears in the sky, by which the gods descend to the sacrifice. The gods repent of the deluge they have brought upon the earth, and promise that the world shall not again be covered by a flood. And now Hasisadra, along with his wife and people, is translated to heaven. The rest of his followers settle in the plains of Babylonia. (The name of the eleventh month in the Chaldeo-Babylonian year means "the curse of the rain.")

The story ended, Izdubar returns, having been healed of the disease with which he had been cursed by Anatu. He is accompanied by his boatman to Erech. By means of enchantments the shade of Heabani is raised, and with him Izdubar again communes.

Such are the main features of the Epic of Izdubar, so far as it has been recovered and interpreted. With a number of discrepancies the story of the deluge shows close general agreement with the inspired record of Genesis.* We may also profitably compare the Izdubar deluge legends with the statements of Berosus. Hasisadra is the Greek Xisuthrus. "Its

* "Chaldean Genesis," pp. 175–314. For comparison of accounts of the deluge see especially pp. 304, 305; also Rule's Oriental Records, Monumental," pp. 13–33.

meaning appears to be 'shut up in a box or ark,' from the two characters signifying 'inclosed' and 'box,' respectively." *

This epic is arranged in twelve books. The tablets from which it is taken are probably as old as 1600 B.C. Sayce places the composition in about 2000 B. C., and the independent poems from which it has been formed to the centuries immediately preceding. The twelve adventures of Izdubar remind us of the twelve labors of Hercules, and mythologists have worked out the comparison in great detail. Many scholars believe it to be a solar epic, (Hercules may be a solar hero,) the twelve books answering to the signs of the zodiac and the twelve months of the year. Some writers, as the late George Smith, of the British Museum, believe it to rest on a historic basis. It does not enter into our purpose to discuss these questions. We may, however, hazard the opinion that that philosophy which refers every thing in ancient and heathen mythology and religion to the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, for its explanation, has been pushed entirely too far. The solar theory of mythology, which has accomplished such grand results, cannot do every thing. A too enthusiastic disciple may bring into disrepute the safe teachings of a master, or even a master may unconsciously close his eyes to valuable sources of information. We may admit the solar character of the epic, and yet believe in its substantial historic basis. This interpretation seems to be the most reasonable. It would not be difficult to show that whatever theory of interpretation may be adopted for the Izdubar Epic, the relation of the flood legend (which forms its eleventh tablet) to the Bible will be but slightly affected.

The recovery of the literatures long buried in the unknown Sanscrit, Zend, Egyptian, and Assyrian languages has created many chapters of history, while it has necessitated the re-writing of many others. The Egyptian and Assyrian literatures have also necessitated the re-writing of many chapters of skeptical criticism, while they have annihilated many others. Contemporary and yet more ancient records have grandly confirmed and illustrated many portions of the Holy Scriptures. The Bible has lost nothing and gained much from all modern research. It may be considered a providence that these "evidences" have been so wonderfully preserved during thousands

* "Archaic Dictionary," p. 17.

of years to be brought to light just when of priceless value to strengthen Christian faith in the divine authorship of the word of God.

Many of the passages from Assyrian records compared with Scripture prove only that human nature is the same the world over. Other passages, such as the accounts of the creation and the flood, point to a common basis. In many cases the Assyrian records antedate the biblical, and even the traditions which Abraham inherited. It is evident that wrecks of important primitive revelations and historic documents have been preserved in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. Truth, wherever and whenever found, is divine. If the Bible bear the seal of God, our faith in its divinity and power is not weakened though fragments of the same truth be found indigenous in every land.

Art. VI.—METHODIST FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By John M. Reid, D.D. In Two Volumes, with maps and illustrations. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 12mo, pp. 462, 471.

Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1881. 8vo, pp. 331. Printed for the Society.

These books treat almost entirely of matters of facts, of work actually done. Our purpose shall be to go over the same ground, not so much to tell anew their story, as to examine the processes followed and the results reached, and, as far as may be, to detect the inspiring and guiding spirit of the work; to find out its rationale, and to note its successes and failures.

Dr. Reid's volumes deserve a commendatory notice as a work prepared with care, written in attractive style, and furnishing us a needed source of information. In writing them, no doubt he accomplished just what he designed, which was to put into a form easily accessible, and sufficiently condensed to bring them within readable limits, the chief facts of the past doings and achievement of the Society—that is, the Church—of which he is the trusted agent and representative. The work is, however, a condensed history, in the narrative sense of that word, dealing in facts, details, processes, and records of results; leaving all

the philosophizing, the making of deductions, and the judging of men and measures to the reader; and, within his purpose, the work is what it should be. It appears to be entirely trustworthy in its statements, and fair in the presentation of its facts.

The missionary work here brought into notice is of comparatively recent date, having been originated only a little more than fifty years ago. True, the Methodist itinerancy was always essentially a missionary agency, and its ideal sphere of action was, from the first, world-wide; but the expansion of its work, and its purposed extension to foreign lands, seemed to call for some more definite arrangements for its direction and maintenance than had appeared to be necessary in the home work, and in response to that demand (A. D. 1819) the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church came into existence. Its primary design was to aid in carrying forward the work of the itinerancy "throughout the United States and Territories," but in the original constitution the clause was added, rather prophetically than for present use, "and also in foreign countries." Its income, which for the first year was less than a thousand dollars, advanced year by year, and in 1829 exceeded fourteen thousand dollars.

Down to that date, the term "itinerancy," as applied to the Methodist ministry, retained its proper etymological and usual lexicographical meaning, which has since been largely modified. Till then that ministry was chiefly "in the saddle," and as the Seventy, sent by Christ only to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," went forth "without purse or scrip," so these going among the people of the land were expected, in military phrase, to "live on the country." But with changes wrought by the lapse of years it became at length almost a necessity to aid at the outset the adventurous pioneers who might be sent out to "take up new work." To provide and apply such subsidies was therefore the chief business of the Society for its first two or three decades.

The true missionary spirit—that which looks beyond its own home and kindred, and longs to carry the Gospel message to those who sit in the darkness of heathenism—was but faintly manifested in early Protestantism. It began to show itself, however, during the latter years of the last century, and in the early part of the present it was developed in organic forms

among the principal bodies of English-speaking Protestantism; and of this movement in evangelical Christendom the organization of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its subsequent devotion to foreign missions, was a natural result. That, too, was the heroic age, the period of romance, in respect to foreign missions. The whole subject was seen in a *glamour*, not to say a *mirage*; the missionary seemed to go forth, "taking his life in his hand," with the combined spirits of the monk and the crusader. All that, however, is now largely modified, for the better in some things, but not entirely, for there is a legitimate place for enthusiasm in such a work, and it is only right that that element in human nature should be actively consecrated to the cause of Christ. The marvelous results of missionary work in Tahiti, South Africa, India, and Madagascar reported among the home churches, and supplementing the earlier stories of Hans Egede and Christian David, were firing the hearts of both British and American Christians, all of which found its appropriate expression, not only in the poetical imagery and spiritual inspiration of which Bishop Heber's missionary hymn is a bright example, but also in substantial deeds whose results remain. As now contemplated, after the lapse of more than half a century, that era is seen to have been "the fullness of the time," for the advent of the new spirit, and the inauguration of a new departure in the living Church. The call had gone forth, and all evangelical Christendom was responding, and the great heart of Methodism burned with a holy zeal to have a share in the glorious enterprise.

The occasion, which soon became more than an opportunity, for entering a foreign mission at length came to the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church from an unexpected quarter. The large development and apparently immovably fixed position of that greatest and most fearful anachronism of the age, American Slavery, had cast loose upon society a pariah class of free Africo-Americans, whose presence was at once a menace to the institution of slavery and an appeal to the pity of the benevolent and philanthropic; and strangely enough these two forces united to originate the scheme for colonizing them in Africa. In one of the earliest of these emigrant expeditions were found a number of persons who had been Methodists

in America, one of whom—Daniel Coker—was a licensed preacher, and these during the voyage united to constitute themselves a Methodist Episcopal Church, and so the Church was thus early set up in that distant land.

The African Mission.

These things became known in the Church at home, and it was agreed that they should be understood as providential indications of its duty in the matter; and yet it was nearly two years before the work appeared in a practical form. It was determined that, as soon as the proper man for the work could be obtained, the work should be undertaken, and at length such a one was found in the person of Rev. Melville B. Cox, a native of Virginia, a man of good parts, of a most amiable spirit, and with deep piety, but in delicate health, and (consequently, perhaps) affected with a kind of dreamy melancholy. His career as a missionary was brief but brilliant. Before setting out for his distant field, he is reported to have said to a young friend on parting, "If I die in Africa, come after me, and write my epitaph: 'Let a thousand fall before Africa shall be given up.'" On his arrival at his post of duty he wrote back: "I have seen Liberia and live: It rises up yet as a vision of heaven." After only a few short weeks of earnest labors among formidable difficulties, he fell a victim to the acclimating fever. Re-enforcements went forward, a year or two later, and the Liberia mission was thenceforth a recognized fact. But in less than a year after the arrival of the re-enforcements, of the two missionaries, one had died, and the other had returned, leaving only one white person, a woman, in the field. Thus far the results achieved were much greater at home than abroad, in giving to the pent-up missionary spirit of the Church a method for expressing itself, and a mission field toward which to look and upon which to lavish its sympathies.

It has become, perhaps unduly, the fashion to speak of that mission as a failure, which is partly true and partly not. After all its mishaps and discouragements, due chiefly to the lack of effective superintendence, it has now more than twenty traveling preachers, and nearly three times that number of local preachers, and over two thousand Church members, which is about one tenth of the population of the Republic.

Besides the work done by the colored men, the mission has been the scene of some decidedly heroic labors by white missionaries, both as ministers and teachers, and in no other field probably have such labors been productive of better or more abundant fruit. The history of that mission, covering more than fifty years, is especially worthy of careful and honest study, in both its successes and its failures, the former of which demonstrate its abundant capabilities, and the latter stand out as beacon lights to show how things ought not to be done. And of the latter class of lessons the home administration has as much need as those in the foreign field.

The Oregon (or "Flathead") Mission.

Our second "foreign" mission, in the order of time, was that to the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, along the Columbia River. It forms a part of one of the most remarkable and romantic chapters of American history, and it has in itself certain peculiarly interesting circumstances. Of these we can write but briefly, although they are the conditions among which matters must be considered. From the time that Captain Cook, the famous ocean explorer and the first circumnavigator of the globe, drifted along our Western coast, and sighted from afar some of its headlands, until the extension of the boundary line on the parallel of forty-ninth degree of north latitude, the proprietorship of the region of the Columbia River had been an open question, which the fur traders sought to determine in favor of Great Britain, and the missionaries in favor of the United States—a strife in which, as every body knows, the missionaries were the winners. The story of the inception of that mission is an illustration of the proverb that fact is stranger than fiction. In the spring of 1832, four Indians, differing in appearance from any known tribe, appeared in St. Louis, then a small frontier town, saying, as best they could make themselves understood, that they had come from beyond the great mountains, sent by their people, to procure a wonderful book, sent from heaven, which they had been told that the white men possessed, and which made them great and powerful. They were "Flatheads,"—Nez-Perces—and Captain Clark, who made the famous overland journey in 1804–5, known in history as that of *Lewis and Clark*, and who was now in St. Louis, knew

something of their tribe. But it was cold comfort that the poor Indians received from those among whom they fell, and when they at length turned their faces westward, without the wonderful book, they said sadly, "We go back, and our people will die in darkness." Their story at length got abroad, and of course awakened a very deep interest. Dr. Wilbur Fisk, the President of Wesleyan University, became especially active in urging that the Methodist Episcopal Church should at once send out a mission to this interesting people, and the Church every-where seconded the call, and in 1834, when Captain Wyeth, the fur trader, set out with an expedition for Fort Hall, two missionary companies accompanied him—one, Methodist, consisting of Jason and Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and T. L. Edwards; the other from the American Board, consisting of Rev. Dr. Whitman and Rev. Samuel Parker and their wives. They proceeded that season only as far as Fort Hall, and the next year descended into the valley of the Columbia. Having ascertained that the "Flatheads," to whom they were especially sent out, were an inconsiderable tribe, and at that time gone away to a considerable distance, the Lees and their associates passed down the river to Vancouver, and soon after located and went at work in the Willamette Valley. The mission was vigorously prosecuted, both by preaching to the adults and teaching the children in school, and was quite largely re-enforced, two years later, by an overland company, and still more largely by a kind of missionary colony, which left New York in October, 1839, proceeding by way of Cape Horn, and arriving in the Columbia the next spring. But all these magnificent provisions failed to insure success, for causes now easily understood. The home office was wholly inexperienced in the conduct of such an enterprise, and those charged with administration of the work were evidently unequal to the undertaking. In 1846 Rev. George Gary was sent out from New York to supersede Mr. Lee in the superintendency, who, using the discretionary power given to him, proceeded to dispose of most of the property of the mission, and to bring the whole work, which had been a mission to whites rather than Indians, within the narrowest possible limits. In 1848 the General Conference instituted the Oregon and California Mission Conference, which four years later was divided into two,

and as both Oregon and California had become part of the territory of the United States, so the missions were no longer "foreign." In respect to the Indians, this, as nearly all other Indian missions, was largely a failure, but it was most timely, and afterward eminently successful in its influence over the incoming white population. Nor is there any good reason for suspecting either the zeal or the integrity of those charged with the work, though evidently they were not in all things equal to the duties devolved on them.

Missions in South America.

When the Methodist Episcopal Church began to look beyond the bounds of its own country for fields for evangelical enterprise, its attention was quite naturally directed to the countries of the southern portion of our own continent. The countries of that region had not long before become free states, most of them republics, and it was hoped that in all of them religious liberty would be granted. As early as 1832 the General Conference indicated its wish that a mission to that part of the world should be undertaken, and accordingly, in 1835, Rev. Fountain E. Pitts, of Tennessee, made an exploring tour down the eastern coast as far as Buenos Ayres, returning early the next year. The General Conference of 1836 again expressed its interest in the work, and recommended that at least two missionaries should be sent out. The points selected for occupation were Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres. To the former Rev. Justin Spaulding was sent, who was joined a year later by Rev. D. P. Kidder, as assistant missionary, and R. M'Murdy, as teacher. The work appeared to open favorably, and the missionaries, while acquiring the Portuguese language, engaged in preaching to the seamen of the port and distributing the Scriptures, both in the city and in the interior, in which they seem not only to have been allowed full liberty, but also enjoyed the warm sympathy of many of the officials and other chief citizens, encountering only such opposition as came from the wordy attacks of some of the priests. After three years' residence Mr. Kidder, on account of the death of his wife, was compelled to return home, bringing his infant child, and soon after the Board, alarmed at the state of the funds, declined to authorize his return, and a year later Mr.

Spaulding was recalled, leaving his work in the hands of the missionaries of the American Board, by whom it has been prosecuted with a good degree of success. The abandonment of such a work, among such conditions, appears quite inexplicable. The mission in Buenos Ayres was begun by Rev. F. E. Pitts, already named, in 1836, who entered into a work that had long been carried on by Presbyterian missionaries, but was about this time given up, somewhat as that at Rio Janeiro was afterward given up by the Methodists. As his visit was intended to be only a temporary one, and chiefly for observation, he gave place, after a few months, to Rev. John Dempster, who engaged heartily and successfully in his work, which, however, he was not permitted by the local authorities to extend beyond the resident foreign population, an inhibition which remained without any relaxation till 1852, when a more liberal policy was introduced. For nearly twenty years the work of the mission was thus shut up to the foreign population, which, however, was relatively large, and to a considerable extent made up of persons permanently domiciled in the city; and among these a successful and highly beneficial work was maintained. In 1839 Rev. W. H. Norris went to Montevideo, but found the city beset by a hostile army and the whole country convulsed with war. He was able, however, to enter upon his work among the foreign residents, and for some time to prosecute it with good prospects of success. A school of high grade was also projected at Buenos Ayres, under the direction of Professor Hiram A. Wilson—now of Saratoga—and soon a promising academy for children of American, English, and German residents was established. Mr. Norris also opened a school at Montevideo, and asked that a teacher might be sent to assist him. But in the fall of 1841, Mr. Dempster having returned temporarily, as he intended, to New York, it was resolved by the Missionary Board to discontinue the mission "for want of funds." The reasons assigned more in detail were that the Society was already in debt five thousand dollars, and "that our labors in South America have been less productive of visible good than we had hoped." As viewed at our distance of forty years, the treatment of all these South American missions appears quite inexplicable; and they compel to the conclusion that either less than the whole truth is revealed

in the records, or else that the missionary authorities at home were sadly, not to say culpably, deficient in faith and devotion to their work. And this view is confirmed and intensified by the fact that the foreign residents of both these cities strongly objected to the discontinuance of the missions and schools, and offered, if they could be renewed, to carry them on almost entirely at their own expense. This was actually done at Buenos Ayres, and a church was built soon after and placed under the care of Mr. Norris; and upon his return to this country in the spring of 1848 he was succeeded by Rev. D. D. Lore, and the work has been continued by successive appointments to the present time. Two mistakes, arising from inexperience and insufficient appreciation of the best methods for prosecuting their work, were here made by the missionary authorities: one, overcarefulness in respect to incurring debts and trusting to the future liberality of the Church to pay them, by which they permitted much well-begun work to perish; but this mistake has since been corrected, and the opposite policy has been practiced quite as freely as prudence would allow. The other mistake was in failing to sufficiently rely upon the people served for the pecuniary support of the work; and this they continue to be very slow to learn, greatly to the detriment of the home treasury and of the manly self-respect of the people served.

The later history of the work was not unlike that of the earlier days of the mission, though its later fruits were more encouraging. In 1856 Rev. William Goodfellow became its superintendent, and continued in that office for over ten years, during which time not only was the local Church at Buenos Ayres edified and increased in numbers, but some efforts were also made to extend the work to the native population. After Dr. Goodfellow's return, in 1870, Rev. Henry G. Jackson was appointed his successor, and ten years later he was succeeded by Rev. T. B. Wood, who had been for some years serving as a missionary in the country. He is now at the head of the mission, having Rev. J. R. Wood, his brother, and Rev. I. F. Thompson for assistants. The work has recently assumed a more decidedly aggressive attitude than at any previous time, and it gives promise of becoming really what its name imports —a mission to the people of south-eastern South America.

Dr. Durbin's Secretaryship.

The middle of the century marked a crisis in the affairs of the Methodist Episcopal Church in respect to both the home administration and the extension of the foreign work. Neither of the three early foreign missions had proved satisfactory. Liberia, though it had been the object of very high hopes, and was looked to as the door opening to the heathen masses of the interior, and though vast sums had been lavished upon it, was not justifying the expectations of its friends. Oregon had ceased to be a foreign mission-field, both by its incorporation into the territory of the United States and by the diversion of the attention of the preachers from the Indians to the white settlers; and the South American mission was only a chaplaincy for the foreign population of Buenos Ayres. The home administration was by no means effective. There was a manifest lack of the knowledge and skill in adaptation in the home office which the longer experience of later years has brought to it. About that time Rev. Dr. Durbin became chief secretary, whose advent to the office constituted a new epoch in the Society's affairs. His first efforts were directed to the awakening a zeal for missions in the Church generally, for doing which he relied less on his own marvelous power as a public speaker than on, first, showing something to be done, and, second, by organizing the working forces of the whole Church for missionary action. The work in Liberia was strengthened, and (with a very doubtful liberality) its annual appropriation for several years averaged over thirty-five thousand dollars; and, as has been shown, the work in South America was resuscitated and given a new lease of life. The new mission in China (begun in 1847) was strengthened, and received liberal grants of money. Missions were also begun in Germany, Sweden, India, and Bulgaria. The Church responded grandly to these practical appeals from the home office, and from an income of eighty-four thousand dollars, in 1848, it increased steadily till it reached its maximum of six hundred and eighty thousand in 1872, the year of Dr. Durbin's retirement. During these years the entire structure of the Church's missionary arrangements was reconstructed, revolutionized. It had been simply a voluntary organization, through which the Church op-

erated, and hence the missionary administration of the Church is still spoken of as "the Society;" but now it was wrought into the organic structure of the Church, as among its direct and principal functions. Every local church is an auxiliary, every pastor an agent, every church officiary a portion of the working force, and every Sunday-school is designed to be an active and co-operating agency.

The scheme, as a project, shows the mind of a statesman, and its successful organization and practical operation indicate rare administrative abilities. Many wise and excellent men had given their earnest thoughts and prayers, as well as the diligent labor of their hands, to the interests of the cause of missions in the Church, but it was for Dr. Durbin to animate with a new life and thoroughly marshal its working forces for efficient action. Its present greatness and its multiplied fields of labor, upon which the sun never sets, is his best monument.

The China Mission.

Long before any such had been undertaken, it had been felt that the Methodist Episcopal Church ought to have a well-established mission somewhere in the great outlying world of heathenism, and an answer to this feeling found expression in the year 1847, when a missionary expedition sailed for China. Two young men, Messrs. Collins, of Michigan, and White, of New York, were chosen for the work, who sailed from Boston for Canton, having Foochow for their point of destination. They were furnished in their own persons with fair natural parts, a college education, (and Mr. White had also a medical education,) personal piety, and zeal for souls. They lacked maturity of mind and heart; they knew very little of public life and the ways of the world, and, in common with nearly all Christendom, they knew very little about the philosophy and the practical working of missions among non-Christian peoples. Six months after their departure they were at their place of destination, ready to begin their wearisome preparation for their work, to master the language and to gain access to the people. They were disliked, as "foreigners," and became objects of curiosity by reason of their complexion and their dress; but this soon changed to indifference, or only served to mark them as objects for the cupidity of the average Celestials. In

October, of the same year, a re-enforcement was sent forward, consisting of Rev. Henry Hickok, with his wife, (but on account of his failing health he was compelled to return the next year,) and Rev. R. S. Maclay, a name that has since become famous in the work of missions. All of these, however, except the last, were compelled to abandon the field after only a few years, and before seeing any real fruit of their labor, leaving Mr. Maclay in the superintendency. In 1851 the mission was further strengthened by the arrival of Rev. I. W. Wiley (now Bishop) and Rev. James Calder, and two or three years later Revs. E. Wentworth and Otis Gibson. But affairs were not hopeful; not a convert had been made; the government was unfriendly; the mission suffered greatly from sickness and deaths, especially among the females, and at one time only Mr. Wiley and his wife remained at Foochow, both in delicate health, the latter dying soon after. The first baptism took place in 1857, ten years after the commencement of the mission, and twelve more during the year. Rev. S. L. Baldwin joined the mission in 1858. Whether this want of success at the beginning was a necessity of the case, or owing to the want of that kind of faith in the missionaries which expects present results, and obtains them because they are expected, cannot now be determined; but from the date of the first baptism the work has proceeded steadily and hopefully, and the Foochow mission has been recognized by competent judges as among the best of its kind. Through its action Christianity has been naturalized in China, so that it is no longer a foreign religion, and the mission itself has become multiplied into four distinct works, located, at somewhat remote points, in Central, Northern, and Western China.

India Mission.

As soon as Dr. Durbin came to the missionary secretaryship his attention was directed to India as a desirable field for missionary occupation. Accordingly, at his suggestion, the General Committee, in November, 1852, placed the necessary funds at the discretion of the Board of Managers, to be used for opening a mission in India. After this it was felt that the next important consideration in the case was to find out the right man to inaugurate the work, as only to one of mature

years and tested ministerial character could such an enterprise be intrusted. Accordingly, after some delay and much correspondence, choice was made of Rev. William Butler, of New England Conference, an Irishman by birth, educated at Didsbury College, and formerly a traveling minister of the Wesleyan Connection. He sailed from Boston in April, 1856, and in September following was in Calcutta. After a full and brotherly consultation with some of the chief missionary workers in India, it was determined to select the north-western provinces—Oude, Rohilcund, and Gurhwal—lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas, as the places to be occupied. Having canvassed the territory and estimated its requirements, Mr. Butler concluded that to effectively operate the proposed work twenty-five missionaries would be necessary, and for these he asked. Of course this requisition could not be at once complied with, and very soon other events demanded the attention of all in India. The very next year the Sepoy Rebellion swept over India like a tornado, and for the time all other interests were in abeyance. In the spring of 1858 two additional missionaries—Messrs. Humphrey and Pierce—having arrived, and also a resident Englishman, Mr. Josiah Parsons, a local preacher, having been accepted as an assistant, work was actually begun at Bareilly, in the far north-west, learning languages, arranging for homes, opening schools, and preaching to the European residents. These were the beginnings; the history of the years that have followed, their labors and trials, and, above all else, their successes, would require volumes for their full statement. It has been specifically a working mission, with every thing to be accomplished by steady and persistent efforts. It is chiefly a mission among heathen idolaters, but also in the presence of a dominant nominal Christian civilization, and under the protection of a Christian government. In the larger towns and along the lines of travel are found, in considerable numbers, English residents and their mixed-race descendants, called Eurasians, and all through the land are a large number of Mohammedans, the descendants of earlier conquerors, proud, bigoted, and fierce, and restrained from violence only by their later conquerors, the English. But the great body of the people, numerically, and their multitude seems like the "leaves in Vallombrosa," are Hindus, the an-

cient people of the land, of many castes, each separated from all others by impassable barriers, most of them very poor, ignorant, superstitious, and both mentally and morally degraded, with only the fewest present sources of enjoyment, and utterly without hope. The attempt to Christianize such a people must be a labor of love, to be sustained only by the most unbounded faith in the saving power of the Gospel; and yet, that it is a hopeful work is demonstrated by substantial results.

The India Mission has been prosecuted on a broad and liberal scale from the beginning. About fifty missionaries, proper, have been employed, with more than as many women, either wives of missionaries or else teachers under the care of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. No doubt some mistakes have been made in its affairs, in the appointment of missionaries and in the internal administration; for those who have made the former are not infallible, and those who have been charged with the latter have all along justified their claim to be human. And yet it stands forth to-day, after the experiences and tests of a quarter of a century, a *model mission;* eminently such on account of the devotion of its members to the one great work of saving souls, for the steady persistence of the missionaries in their appropriate work in the face of great difficulties and discouragements, and of the broad and enlightened statesmanship of their plans and purposes. And in all this the work has been liberally sustained by the home office. Nearly one and a half millions of dollars have been given to it, and all its interests have been cared for and demands responded to with a truly parental liberality; and after all requisite deductions have been made, it may still be claimed that the results achieved abundantly justify all the outlay that has been made in money and labor. These are now embodied in an Annual Conference, after the home model, containing 21 American ministers, 10 Anglo-Indians, 11 ordained and 40 unordained native preachers, 400 native helpers of various kinds and degrees, with 3,200 Church members, 8,000 children in day-schools and 12,000 in Sunday-schools, 22 houses of worship, and church and school property valued at considerably more than $300,000. These churches, made up for the most part of the very poorest of the poor, are also beginning to contribute a considerable per centage of their own church expenses.

Southern India—William Taylor.

While in India, though a little out of the order of time, we may pause to notice the work in the southern portion of that vast and populous country. It was an old mission field long before the agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church had entered that country; but still there was, and there still is, an abundance of unoccupied room in every portion of that immense field. Near the end of 1870 Rev. William Taylor, in the course of his seven years' evangelistic tour round the world, came to India, and during the next year labored chiefly among our missions in Northern India, preaching in English wherever he could get hearers, and through an interpreter to the natives, not without good results, but not entirely to his own satisfaction. In November of that year he was in Bombay preaching in English, at first in the chapel of the American Board's Mission, and afterward in a large hall. He had now struck the right vein—had found a people to whom to deliver his message. It is estimated that there are in India, chiefly in the sea-port towns and along the principal lines of travel, not less than 150,000 Europeans, or the children of such, (Eurasians,) English-speaking, nominally Christians; many of them somewhat educated, often men of very positive characters, but socially outcasts, and for the most part entirely godless. These were just the men to appreciate the street-preaching apostle of San Francisco, and toward them Mr. Taylor especially directed his evangelistic efforts; and, like the publicans and sinners of the times of Christ, they heard him gladly, believed, and were converted. Afterward the work spread to Poona, Kurrachee, Madras, and Calcutta; and in all these places souls were converted. And now came the more difficult question, What shall be done with them? for they must have spiritual nurture or they will perish, and their last case be worse than the first. The first expedient was to organize them into "fellowship bands," each with its appropriate leader, not unlike Mr. Wesley's "Societies;" but later, yielding to the requirements of the case, Mr. Taylor gave them a virtually complete Church organization. The work also called for additional ministerial labor, and such was supplied partly by old residents of India, now quickened into new religious activity, and partly by new-comers from

America, drawn thither, without any formal appointment, by the fame of Mr. Taylor's work, and some, a little later, by episcopal appointment; but in all cases they were to depend upon those among whom they labored for their maintenance. In December, 1873, Bishop Harris having gone thus far around the world, from east to west, came to India, and with the hearty concurrence of all parties erected Mr. Taylor's churches into an integral portion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, constituting them a district of the India Conference. In 1876 these were given a separate organization of their own, as the South India Conference, a mission of the highest type in respect to its evangelistic aggressiveness, and eminently Pauline, in that it is built upon no man's previous labors; but, unlike almost every other mission, it has been from the beginning self-supporting, never having received a dollar from any missionary organization, beyond its own bounds, for either the maintenance of its laborers, or for building its houses of worship, its schools, or its dwellings. Its success and the growth attained are the vindication of its policy, and though its conditions may have been exceptionally favorable to such an undertaking, still it has demonstrated the possibility of missions among non-Christian peoples without outside support. That work, as it stands forth to-day, is Mr. Taylor's vindication, made effective, however, by a most noble band of his fellow-laborers in the Gospel.

Bulgaria.

Among the favorite schemes that engaged Dr. Durbin's attention during the early years of his administration was the mission in Bulgaria. When Kossuth was in this country, in 1851, he called attention to the openings in European Turkey for Protestant missions. The officers of the American Board considered the case, but decided that they could do no more in that region than they were already doing; but suggested that the Methodist Episcopal Church should be invited to consider the case. The subject was accordingly referred to the General Committee by the Corresponding Secretary, in November, 1852, with a decided expression in its favor, and the sum of $5,000 was placed at the disposal of the Bishop in charge of foreign missions for the commencement of the work. Bulgaria was selected, as an unoccupied field, at the suggestion

of Dr. Riggs, of the American Board, at Constantinople; but nothing was actually done till more than two years later, and it was not till 1857 that missionaries were sent forward, when Revs. W. Prettyman and A. L. Long began their work at Shumla, on the Black Sea. In November, 1858, Rev. F. W. Flocken, who spoke both Russian and German, was added to the missionary force. In 1859 Mr. Long removed to Tirnova, where, near the close of that year, he began preaching in his own house to such companies as he could collect, which quite naturally awoke the opposition of the priests of the Greek Church, though some of a better class showed him great favor; among them was Gabriel Etieff, who had before been in the employ of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and who now became Mr. Long's assistant and colporteur. At the same time Messrs. Prettyman and Flocken continued their studies of the Bulgarian language at Shumla, the former preaching in English and the latter in German to the resident foreigners. The next year Mr. Flocken began work at Tultcha, on the Danube, preaching and distributing tracts, as opportunity offered, in Bulgarian, Russian, German, and English, and a little later he opened a school in his study, which was soon attended by more than fifty children, and most of these were also induced to attend the Sunday-school for religious instruction. Here three or four Russians were baptized, and the beginnings of a real evangelistic work appeared. But the whole country was rocked by both political and religious controversies; the Bulgarian Church laity, especially, desired to be separated from the authority of the Greek Patriach; the Papists were intriguing to have them united to Rome, and the political state of the country was on the borders of revolution. All hope of reviving and using, as an evangelistical agency, any of the churches of the country was at length abandoned, and, in utter despair of accomplishing any thing, Mr. Prettyman resolved to abandon the mission and come home, and Mr. Long removed to Constantinople in order to make that city the base of his further operations. Here (1863) he was associated with Dr. Riggs in the revisal and publication of the Bulgarian Testament for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He also issued, during 1864, a small paper, "The Morning Star," which had a considerably extensive circulation among the

Bulgarians; and though the work of evangelization made very little visible progress, precious seed was being sowed among that people which has since yielded fruit. In 1865 Bishop Thomson was in the mission, and, with Mr. Long, visited the chief points in Bulgaria, and it seems that he was deeply impressed with the apparent possibilities of the work; and on his return he recommended re-enforcements, which, to some extent, were sent forward. A real revival occurred at Tultcha, and also at Sistof. A long series of conflicts, persecutions, successes, and discouragements make up the record of the decade, 1870–80. Mr. Long accepted a chair in Robert College, most of the missionaries left the country, and for a time the work was abandoned by the home authorities, to be renewed again the next year, 1873.

In 1874 Bishop Harris visited the mission, called all the workers together—American and natives—and reorganized the work, which seemed to him to be full of promise. But with the next year came the Russo-Turkish war, of which Bulgaria was the battle-field, and the whole land was swept with a hurricane of destruction and massacre, ending in the erection of the independent Principality of Bulgaria. During these fearful years the mission was entirely broken up and scattered, and a large part of the converts were actually massacred by the Mussulmans, and all the missionaries were called home. But at the earnest prayer of the native preachers in the country, and with the hope that in the new order of things, in free Bulgaria, something better could be done, in 1878 Mr. Flocken was directed to return, which he did, and was not long after followed by Messrs. Challis and Lounsberry, and Messrs. Economoff and Thomoff, native preachers, who had been for some years in this country, students in Drew Theological Seminary. The work, thus renewed, has advanced only moderately, but perhaps not the less hopefully, and in the judgment of the home administration it still affords promises of ultimate success. Probably both the possibilities and the difficulties of the work have been underestimated; the working force has never been equal to the demands made upon it, nor have the means at its disposal been adequate, and the men themselves, faithful and godly missionaries, have not been for the most part endowed with the requisite force and tact, breadth of views and executive talent

that the work in a pre-eminent degree requires. In respect to silent moral educating influences no doubt Dr. Long has rendered an inestimably valuable service, both political and religious, to Bulgaria; but to redeem that land it must be taken hold of with a strong hand. The Church must move upon it in force if it is to go up to possess the land.

Italy.

In Roman Catholic countries and among peoples of the Latin race two missions have been undertaken comparatively recently: in Italy and in Mexico. A mission to Rome was the life-long dream of that veteran hater of Romanism, Dr. Charles Elliott, who for forty years ceased not to press the subject upon the Church, but who died without seeing even the beginning of his Church scheme, though possibly the influences that he left behind him at length became effective, for a member of his family (Dr. L. M. Vernon) was at length the founder of that mission. After the decease of Dr. Elliott, Rev. Gilbert Haven (Bishop) became its champion, and he succeeded (in 1870) in procuring a grant from the Board of Managers in its favor, and in 1871 the work was actually begun, Dr. Vernon being sent out to explore the land, and, if found practicable, to begin the work. The Wesleyan Church of Great Britain were already in the country, having missions established at many of the chief centers, and at their first meeting "Rev. Mr. Piggott, the Wesleyan Superintendent, proposed the union of their forces and ours in one missionary movement, *to constitute one Italian Methodism*, believing that such united action would be approved and sustained by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Dr. Vernon at the time concurred in this proposal and reported it favorably to the Mission Rooms. . . . The Board steadily advised a Methodist Episcopal Mission." (Dr. Reid.) As the Wesleyans were first in the field, the complaint against us for "intrusion" is not without some semblance of justice, if indeed there can be such a thing as "preemption rights" among Churches, or as between distinct but fraternal Methodist bodies. As simply a question of policy, having the best interests of Christ's Kingdom and the advancement of "Ecumenical" Methodism for its object, the refusal to accept the proposition for united action, and for the localization of

Methodism in Italy, self-governing and largely self-supporting, it is at least open to some questioning. As the result of that determination there are now in Italy two Methodisms, of which ours is the second in age and in numerical extent, operating in the same general localities and sometimes in the same towns, a policy which would seem to be not altogether favorable to either economy or "fraternity." In 1872 Rev. F. A. Spencer became connected with the mission, but continued only one year. Bologna was first selected as the seat of the mission, which has since been transferred to Rome, and its working force augmented by the accession of a number of able and valuable native laborers, both Protestants and converted Romanists. The conversion of Count Campello, and his *quasi* and temporary connection with our work, was an event rather notorious than really profitable. The progress of the mission under the wise and energetic administration of Dr. Vernon, who is its only American minister, has been steady and as rapid as could be expected. The work has been organized as an Annual Conference, having (in 1881) thirteen native preachers, with about a thousand Church members, two church buildings with parsonages, of an aggregate valuation of thirty-three thousand dollars; *two hundred and forty-two* Sunday-school scholars (!), and two hundred and sixteen dollars (twenty-one cents per member) contributed for self support (!!). Probably future reports will set some of these things in a better light, for it may be hoped that even Italian Methodists will be taught that "the collections" are inseparable parts of their religion. If not too late, it might be wise to reopen the subject of the consolidation and naturalization of the now separate Methodist bodies in the kingdom of Italy.

Mexico.

The second mission among peoples of the ecclesiastical and ethnic type referred to above is that in Mexico, undertaken about ten years since. In November, 1871, the sum of ten thousand dollars was placed in the hands of the Board of Managers to be used in the interests of a mission in that country, if found to be practicable. A year later, Dr. William Butler, the pioneer of the mission in India, was sent out to explore the field, and, if the way should seem to be open, to commence

the work; and before the end of 1873 he was fairly settled down to his work, and was joined the same year by Rev. T. Carter, of New York, (who returned the next year,) and a little later by Rev. J. W. Butler (his son) and Rev. C. W. Drees, (now in charge.) Dr. Butler entered upon his work with characteristic vigor and boldness, managing his somewhat delicate relations with the government with admirable address, and, despite all obstacles, the mission has been a success from the beginning. It has required a rather liberal use of men and money, administered in some cases without very exact conformity to the instructions from the missionary office, but so as to *bring things to pass*, which, though, perhaps, not always a safe method of proceeding, is to some extent justified by the outcome, especially as compared with the conservative feebleness exercised in some other cases. Its statistics for 1881 show nine foreign and eight native missionaries, about seven hundred members, and nearly the same number of Sunday-school scholars; it has nine church buildings, valued, with other real estate, at nearly a hundred and twenty thousand dollars; and best of all in what they promise, the contributions of the churches for their own running expenses make a decidedly respectable showing. If the Mexican mission has been a rather expensive one, (costing about two hundred thousand dollars to date,) it has something to show for this outlay. Here, too, our work is proceeding side by side with that of another Methodism, (the Church South,) suggesting thoughts of a desirable consolidation.

Japan.

Nearly simultaneously with the opening of the two last-named missions was the beginning of the strictly heathen mission in Japan. The first steps toward its establishment were taken in the autumn of 1872, and the next year Rev. R. S. Maclay, of the Foochow (China) Mission, who was then in this country, was appointed its superintendent. He was soon followed by Revs. J. C. Davison, Julius Soper, and M. C. Harris, and their wives, and, not much later, by Rev. I. H. Correll, (from China.) Bishop Harris also visited Japan, almost at the same time, and aided by his counsel in the beginning of the work. The work so begun was a marked success from its incipiency, presenting a marked contrast with that at

Foochow, for in a little over two years the first converts, a gentleman and his wife, were baptized. The progress of this mission has been from the beginning simply marvelous as to its early success, its steady and relatively large increase, and especially its decided and wholesome religious character. To this no doubt the peculiar state of mind of the Japanese at the time largely contributed; the deference of all classes for our western, and especially American, civilization and ideas, and their loss of faith in their ancestral religion, without relapsing into general unbelief and indifference. But the missionaries themselves went there expecting early and abundant results, and for these they lived and labored and believed, and it was done for them according to their faith. There are now in that field, occupying the chief cities, twelve foreign missionaries, distributed, with their native preachers (seven ordained and eight unordained) in three districts, and more than six hundred Church members, and every department of the work shows signs of a wholesome vitality. In that country, also, there are already two or three other kinds of Methodist missionaries, suggesting the inquiry whether both fraternity and efficiency might not be promoted by a closer, organic union.

Germany.

German Methodism, of the specific type represented by the Methodist Episcopal Church, both in America and Europe, is inseparably associated with the name of Rev. William Nast, who, in early life a student at Tubingen, a classmate of David Frederic Strauss, came to America in 1828, utterly without faith, but very ill-at-ease, and having come into certain Methodist associations, he was converted at a Methodist revival, at Danville, Ohio. He soon after began to preach, but found himself unable to use the English language, and therefore his efforts were turned toward his own countrymen—emigrants. Out of these labors grew up the now widely-extended German element in the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose history, however, does not fall within our present design. The German Methodists in this country not only reported to their kindred at home the news of their newly-found salvation, but also soon began to cast longing looks toward the fatherland, and to plead that some one of their ministers might be sent a

missionary to Germany; and accordingly, in October, 1849, Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby, a converted Israelite, who had been laboring in St. Louis, was appointed to that service. But coming to his own people he found that they cared very little for himself or his mission; that Bremen, where he proposed to begin his work, was little better than a heathen city, with its Sabbath desecration, its unfrequented churches, its unspiritual but exclusive ministry, and every-where prevalent worldliness. He, however, entered upon his work in faith, though against appearances. A hall for public worship was procured in Bremerhaven, and in due time souls were converted, as the missionary expected. A Sunday-school was established, a rather rare institution in Germany at that time; a small weekly paper, *Der Evangeliste*, was published, and other appropriate measures used to keep the work in motion.

In 1850 Messrs. Louis Nippert and C. H. Doering, natives of Germany, but naturalized American citizens, were added to the mission, and Dr. M'Clintock also visited it, and aided by his presence and counsels in the work. In 1852 was held the first formal session of the missionaries for mutual consultation respecting their work, and in 1856 it was erected into a "Mission Conference." From that time onward, through great labor, some peril, and a pretty liberal outlay of money, the work has spread nearly all over Germany and the German cantons of Switzerland. It has a membership of nearly 12,000, about 70 traveling and 50 local preachers, and 20,000 in the Sunday-schools; 75 churches and 50 ministers' "houses," together valued at $400,000; also a large amount of school property, including an endowed theological seminary—the Martin Institute—which has been presided over by Dr. W. F. Warren, President of Boston University, and by Dr. J. F. Hurst, (now Bishop Hurst,) and is now under the presidency of Dr. Arnold Sultzberger, a Swiss. In it a large share of the members of the Conference have been trained for their work. There is also, after the almost universal fashion with Methodist bodies, its "Book Concern," with its weekly "Evangelist," and the needed supply of Sunday-school and missionary publications, as well as "books of the general catalogue."

These statistics show very clearly that our variety of Methodism is fairly established, "grounded and rooted," and some-

what "built up" in the land of the Reformation; and yet ours is only one of several varieties, one of which, the British Wesleyan, preceded us in time, and has also become well grounded and somewhat numerous in a number of the chief cities. There are also one or two other American varieties operating in that country. On this subject a late annual report of the mission remarks: "It would be a means of progress if the several branches of the Methodist Church in Germany were united. We should need fewer preachers and chapels, and the impression we should make on other denominations would be a good one," all of which is too evident to be for a moment questioned; and since every body confesses that it ought to be, how is it that nothing effectual is undertaken looking to such a consummation? Is it not about time that the Methodism of Germany, now forty thousand strong, with its nearly two hundred traveling preachers, should be emancipated from its foreign and colonial condition by consolidating itself into an organic unity, a *German Church*, not an American or an English exotic, standing in its own individuality, self-governing, and, much more largely than now, self-supporting?

Spiritually, German Methodism possesses some marked characteristics. It shows very clearly the mingling of American and German peculiarities, while Dr. Nast's marked type of religious experience has affected it quite largely, and for its good. It is somewhat pietistic, and yet not wholly without rationalistic tendencies, nor is it subject to any strong puritanical tendencies. It is somewhat sturdy in the assertion of its own thoughts, perhaps a little restive under authority; but having been accustomed from the beginning to look abroad for help, there has not been the best possible development of the spirit of manly independence and self-reliance. American Methodism attained its majority and became an independent body at eighteen years old, having cost the Mother Church *one hundred and fifty dollars*. German Methodism has reached nearly twice that age, has received from the parent body not less than a million dollars, and is still a minor and a beneficiary.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

The Methodism of the Scandinavian Kingdoms originated in New York City in 1845, when Rev. O. G. Hedstrom, a

member of the New York Conference, a native of Sweden, was appointed a missionary to the Swedes in the lower part of the city, of whom it was said there was not less than three hundred, with no provision for their religious culture. An old vessel, that had before been prepared and used as a place of worship, was obtained, and the work commenced. Pastor Hedstrom—by which title he was called by his countrymen—was evidently peculiarly adapted to the work to which he was thus called. He was in the prime of life, not specifically an educated man, of fair natural abilities, with the kind of magnetic enthusiasm that characterizes the people of the northern kingdoms, to which mental qualities the peculiar stamp and impulse of American Methodism was now added. He seemed never to have had a rationalistic doubt, and his faith in the power of the Gospel to save all men was unlimited. His preparation for and his call to this work reminds one of Dr. Nast's in respect to the Germans, both by their coincidences and their contrasts. The entire conditions and arrangements of the work were eminently opportune. The "Bethel Ship" soon became all that its name implied, and its fame was spread over all the seas, and every port into which Swedish or Norwegian sailors came. By a happy coincidence, which may without superstition be termed providential, soon after the beginning of this work the streams of Scandinavian immigrants, which have since swelled to so great a volume, began to flow into this country; and these were met at their coming by Pastor Hedstrom and his helpers, and so the "Bethel Ship" became known as a kind of immigration office, where many a forlorn stranger heard his native tongue in the land of his exile, and received sympathy and direction, mingled with warm and affectionate religious instruction. These, in passing away into the remote North-west, carried with them and naturalized in their new homes the form of Christian life which they had learned at the "Ship," and from these have grown up the now extensive and vigorous Swedish missions and churches in all the North-western States and Territories. And as many of the converts made at the "Bethel Ship" were sea-faring men, these, on returning to their own country, told among their kindred and acquaintances the story of their conversion, and soon the fire was kindled among them also. Numerous

letters were likewise sent home by the converts, telling the same wonderful story, and through their influence many a susceptible heart was impressed, awakened, and saved; and so in both Sweden and Norway the story of early German Methodism was repeated, with certain natural variations, and with even more remarkable spiritual features.

A Swedish sailor, Mr. John P. Larsson, was converted at the "Bethel Ship," and soon after returned home, where he began to publish abroad the great things that had been done for him; and, though he bore with him no Church authority, he soon found himself forced into the work of preaching Christ and of caring for the newly converted. And as the work detained him at home, and grew on his hands beyond his powers of administration, he sent the Macedonian cry across the ocean, to Pastor Hedstrom, for assistance and instruction. The Missionary Board recommended that Mr. Larsson should continue in the work, and also voted two hundred dollars for his immediate use; and so Methodism became a fact in Sweden, with the converted sailor for its evangelist. In 1855, while Mr. Larsson was engaged in an extensive and powerful revival at Calmar, he was joined by Mr. S. M. Swensen, a layman from New York, a class-leader at the "Ship," who entered heartily into the work, and continued his labors there for several months; and thus the Methodism of these parts assumed from the first the characteristics of a deep and earnest spiritual revival, to which the Scandinavian character appears to be specially adapted. At the same time, and in much the same way, the work proceeded in Norway, first under the labors of Mr. Peterson, who was joined in 1856 by Rev. Christian Willerup, a native of Denmark, who had been from his youth in America, where he had entered the itinerant ministry. A few years later Mr. Willerup was sent to his native land, to plant a mission in that kingdom also. The progress of the work in the three Scandinavian kingdoms for the last twenty years has been a steady growth in numbers and strength, until it has become firmly established in all the chief centers, and widely diffused among the smaller towns and the rural parishes. The petty annoyances by the local officials, encountered at the beginning, have nearly ceased, the more certainly and effectually because it is known that King Oscar himself bears no unfriendly

feeling toward the movement. At present the work in each of the three kingdoms has its own organization, those in Norway and Sweden being constituted Annual Conferences. Sweden has 67 traveling preachers, 9,232 members, 57 church edifices, and a still larger number of halls and other buildings used for public worship. Norway, 46 ministers, 3,375 members, and 22 churches, while in Denmark there are 9 ministers, 798 members, 7 churches, and 50 other places of worship. The whole amount of appropriations to these missions from the beginning is rather more than three quarters of a million. Their church property amounts to nearly three hundred thousand; their annual contribution for church building and for the support of their ministers to about four thousand. It may be hoped that in the near future their contributions will much more nearly approximate their expenditures, for large and long continued feeding is always unprofitable.

At this point, want of room compels an abrupt closing with the "improvement" of the fact presented that we intended to make. What we have shown is, however, the best possible argument for both the demand for the work described, and the fidelity and efficiency with which it has been prosecuted. The Methodist Foreign Missionary work stands before the Church and the world, deprecating no amount of honest and fair criticism, and seeking to be justified as to the past and trusted for the future, and only so far as its own record shall challenge such treatment. In another article we may attempt to bring into view some of the lessons learned by this half-century's experiences.

Art. VII.—THE PROBLEM OF OUR CHURCH BENEVOLENCES.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The parting command of the Son of God to his disciples was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The majesty of these words is absolutely unparalleled. Jesus often spake as never man spake, but in uttering these words he spake as he never spake on any other occasion to mortal hearers. No other words ever spoken to any class of

human beings ever imposed or defined such an obligation. Perhaps he never uttered any other command to men with such a concentration of motive. The gathered intensity of his life-long purposes and love was in his words. They were spoken with the power that could pledge the guidance and energy of the Holy Ghost about to fall upon the wondering hearers. They were intensified with the purpose of resuming the scepter of omnipotence, now for the first time taking it with the hand of glorified humanity. And he spoke them with his mind filled with plans and purposes of preparation among the many mansions of his Father's house, to receive the mighty tide of redeemed humanity to be turned heavenward by those obeying this command.

These words were to rouse and rally and inspire men to a life-work of the loftiest and most sustained heroism, and to test the fidelity and capacity of every one called to be a disciple; and on the manner of the reception of this Gospel he then and here predicated the salvation or damnation of every hearer.

O, miserably do they err who deem their Christian duty done when the Church at home is well sustained! The Church of Christ is organized as an invading army, and the home Church is its base of operations. But what shall we say of an invasion whose utmost success is that of standing still? Is not that resisting enemy already triumphant that can confine the attention and resources of his invader to works of self-preservation? Instead of conquering, the Church is ever in danger of being overcome by the spirit of the world; and such is the temper of the foe, that the most vigorous offensive is the best, the safest, and the cheapest defensive measure.

The Church as a local institution exists for a twofold purpose: First, for the conversion of sinners in its vicinity and the edification of its members, enforcing on them the duty of a life of holiness and self-denying consecration to the service of God. Second, to organize and execute measures for giving the Gospel to the regions beyond.

But can that be a true conversion at all that does not carry with it some important knowledge of the life and work of a believer? And can that be a sound edification that allows one of the foremost of duties to fall into desuetude and forgetfulness? There is no escape from the conclusion, that just in

so far as a Church is not disciplined to the duty of the world's conversion, so far it is in the condition of the blind led by the blind.

Wherever the Church is spiritually alive the ear is open to the Macedonian cry, and the heart feels the force of the Saviour's great command, and the response is proportioned to the degree of faith working by love and the knowledge of the subject possessed by the Church at the time.

The response to Christ's command by the Churches in this age is almost entirely in their organized benevolences for aggressive evangelical work. It is so in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here the Missionary, Church Extension, Tract, Sunday-School, Freedmen's Aid, and Educational Boards and Societies, together with a proprietary interest in the American Bible Society, these almost exhaustively constitute and measure what this great Church is doing toward the world's evangelization. Beyond these are but few fragmentary efforts which, like the aerolites among the planets, scarcely count in their attraction or impact. An occasional sporadic exception only proves a lesson of needed enlargement and perfection of method, and is quickly learned. These are parts of the great missionary movement. They are parts of unequal magnitude, but each indispensable, and none can be neglected without impairing the efficiency of the whole, and it is doubtful whether for years to come any one of them could be consolidated with another without loss to the whole.

Hence the immense importance of these benevolences, which not only gather and use the material resources, but also call forth and fix upon their objects the prayers and faith-power of the Church.

What is the Measure of the Church's Obligation?

To this question we get the uniform answer from every side, as in case of any truism, that the obligation is only measured by the ability; but when we ask for the measure of the ability the answers are innumerable and endlessly discordant.

Churches enough to make whole Conferences, and large ones at that, are giving a few pennies per member and declaring themselves at the utmost limit of their ability; they groan under their burdens, and think one of the chief reasons why

they are so often behindhand with their finances is because of the drain of the benevolences on their resources, and many of their leading members would think an attempt at an advance only a proof of rashness.

At the other extreme, with a curious gradation between, are persons of high intelligence, and always careful in forming their opinions, who believe the evangelical Churches now possess potentially the spiritual and actually the material resources to carry the living Gospel to every human being within ten years, and that, too, without asking a single individual to do any thing unreasonable, or to make a sacrifice greater than many are now making for the blessed Master with joy and gladness. They are persuaded that if all believers should gather as one man at the mercy-seat—as was intended by the original projectors of the Week of Prayer—and fixing their minds on the one object alone, ask the Lord for the world's conversion, and for the baptism of the Holy Ghost upon themselves every one, to fit them fully for their part of the work according to God's provision and measure, and if they should persist, Pentecost would be re-enacted on a scale as broad as evangelical Christendom, and the Spirit would call out tens of thousands who would go abroad with power that would force itself through the resistance of unknown tongues; and even by the preaching through interpreters—as with Brainard among the Indians at Crosswicks, and Taylor in South Africa, and many others of less renown among men—conversions with power would occur by hundreds; and God, honoring his servants as he always does when they are faithful, would pour out his Spirit upon the heathen till the very rumor of the coming Gospel would cause them to gather together by thousands—as in Fiji and Madagascar, beyond where a missionary had ever trod—and call upon the God of the Christians to accept them, and to send them a teacher to tell them the words of life. Then what a field for the coming preacher to broadcast the Word! Out of these multitudes of believers there would not fail to arise many a Luther and many a Knox, many a Wesley and many a Whitefield, many an Asbury and many a Nast, to complete the work of evangelization, and organize these newly-conquered provinces of the kingdom of God. The money? A needed million is so hard to get now. Hundreds

of millions would be needed then, and these would be forthcoming as spontaneously as the shekels at Pentecost, or as the offerings of the Macedonians, made beyond their power, in the depths of poverty and affliction, urging them upon Paul when they had such weighty reasons for keeping them at home. He only prays the Spirit of God into his imagination and not into his heart who does not pray up within himself a liberality as royal as the king's sons. Would the Church be impoverished? Nay, but enriched by perceiving many of her own outlays to be needless, and by accessions from every class, high and low, who could reimburse her five fold every year without loss to themselves out of the savings from expensive vices.

Another answer to the question of the Church's ability is furnished by what is actually now being done by a part of the Church. There were, in 1882, more than twenty thousand members of the Methodist Episcopal Church who gave more than their full share of an aggregate of twenty millions of dollars to these benevolences. That is to say, if each member of the Church of equal ability with these respectively had contributed as they did, the sum would have exceeded twenty millions. And it is probable that hardly any of these noble givers have overdone their giving, and that an increase of their piety, wisdom, and knowledge of the matter would increase the contributions of nine tenths of them. It is certain that these collections appear to them less burdensome than they appear to any other class of the Church's membership.

If we test the Church's ability by the tenth of the income of its members—the lowest amount mentioned in the Scriptures as acceptable when a proportion is mentioned at all—and if we say the rule may admit of many exceptions, it remains that the exceptions are chiefly among those having the least income, (and still they could usually give something,) and that all persons of the average prosperity of the class to which they belong, throughout nearly all the industries of the land, should not give less than a tenth. It remains, too, that many should give more than a tenth; and as these are generally such as have the larger incomes, therefore it is entirely within bounds to say that the Church's average should be one tenth; then, with half that sum the home Church could be far better supported than now, and leave the other half, or five per cent. of the general

income, to supply the means to carry out the Saviour's great command: This would multiply the present collections by a very large factor, and give an astonishing product! An average of one per cent. would produce about three times the amount now received.

Actual Condition of the Benevolences.

A careful tabulation of the average contribution per member to all these collections in every charge in the United States, as the statistical reports stood in the middle of the year 1881, gave the following:

104	charges, comprising	24,377	members, giving from	$2 50 upward.	
61	" "	14,272	" "	2 00 to $2 49	
123	" "	25,762	" "	1 50 to 1 99	
389	" "	79,504	" "	1 00 to 1 49	
545	" "	100,862	" "	75 to 99	
1,145	" "	201,155	" "	50 to 74	
2,517	" "	429,081	" "	25 to 49	
2,468	" "	408,384	" "	10 to 24	
1,759	" "	340,746	" "	9	
727	" "	45,711	" "	nothing.	
240	" about	12,000			
9,858		1,681,854			

The application of certain rules of analysis and classification, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1882, pp. 52, 53,) and which have never been invalidated, showed:

Amount Contributed per Member.	Number of Charges.	Number of Members.	Giving Nothing.	Giving as in ordinary basket collection.	Somewhat more than in ordinary basket collection.	Large givers from middle and lower classes.	Large givers.
$2 50 up.	104	24,377	10,567	8,776	2,352	2,438	244
2 00 to $2 49	61	14,272	6,184	5,138	1,685	1,150	115
1 50 to 1 99	123	25,762	11,163	10,134	2,573	1,720	172
1 00 to 1 49	389	79,504	34,451	31,791	8,095	4,770	397
75 to 99	545	100,862	43,707	42,696	10,086	4,037	336
50 to 74	1,145	201,155	87,167	87,436	20,115	6,035	402
25 to 49	2,517	429,081	228,843	164,767	28,606	6,436	429
10 to 24	2,468	408,384	217,805	168,002	20,419	2,056	102
9	1,759	340,746	181,731	155,268	3,407	340	....
No report.....	713	45,711	45,711	....	....	....	....
No members..	240	12,000	12,000	....	....	....	....
		1,681,854	879,329	674,008	97,338	28,982	2,197

There is an appreciable error in these figures, because they were based upon the reports of membership made before the new method of reporting was adopted, and which were somewhat inflated with names of members that had disappeared. The

adoption of the new method, and especially of the rule requiring "the number of known members at the end of this year," has probably reduced that inflation during the last eighteen months by a number that would fall somewhere between fifty and seventy-five thousand. This has accounted for the apparently slow growth of the Church in numbers during the time.

Having adopted the policy, in this work, of keeping safely within the line of indisputable facts and unassailable inferences from them, an allowance of fifty thousand has been made for this contraction. That is, the rules of analysis and classification have been adjusted by the changed conditions required by this supposition. The change was effected in this way: It is manifest that every unreal member would fall into the class of non-contributors; therefore, after the results had been obtained under the working of the rules as they stood, the required proportion, 48,412, was deducted from the class of non-contributors and distributed among the other classes by the same rule that had governed the body of the membership. The remaining 1,588 of the 50,000 represents the contraction in the 42,128 members of the 628 charges contributing nothing.

A year's experience, if this work is continued, will show how nearly correct is the working hypothesis thus obtained, and how nearly this estimate covers the actual contraction. The error at most will fall below two per cent. Another very slight change in the working of the rules was made by placing the class giving from 75 to 99 cents per member partly under the rule of the preceding class, to meet a changed condition probably occasioned by the improved financial condition of the country. The effect upon the whole, caused by this change, is very slight, and is in the direction of a more favorable showing.

The reports in the General Minutes of 1882, tabulated with equal care as the preceding, show that besides nine charges reporting collections but no membership, and whose membership cannot be got from the preceding reports, there are:

Charges.	Members.	Average.	Charges.	Members.	Average.
[illegible]	31,909	$2 50 up.	2,671	439,094	25 to 49
[illegible]	20,134	2 00 to $2 49	2,142	354,733	10 to 24
[illegible]	43,895	1 50 to 1 99	1,455	288,268	Under 10
[illegible]	110,426	1 00 to 1 49	628	42,128	Nothing.
[illegible]	130,760	75 to 99			
1,441	250,191	50 to 74	10,021	1,711,533	

Then, applying the rules of analysis and classification, with the modifications needed to meet the changed conditions as explained above, we find the number of each class of givers as follows:

Charges.	Members.	Average.	Giving Nothing.	As in ordinary basket collection.	More than in ordinary basket collection.	Large givers from middle and lower classes.	Large givers.
130	31,909	$2 50 and up.	12,762	12,242	3,292	3.285	328
83	20,134	2 00 to $2 49	8,115	7,695	2,497	1,661	166
202	43,895	1 50 to 1 99	17,692	16,873	6,017	3,013	300
609	110,426	1 00 to 1 49	44,507	42,632	16,287	6,431	569
730	130,760	75 to 99	52,785	47,465	24,675	5,386	449
1,441	250,191	50 to 74	100,839	115,344	25,769	7,724	515
2,671	439,094	25 to 49	221,030	165,606	45,224	6,782	452
2,142	354,733	10 to 24	178,757	137,115	36,887	1,880	94
1,455	288,268	Under 10	145,107	139,896	2,969	296	...
628	42,128	Nothing.	42,128	....	....	....	...
10.091	1,711,538		823,722	684,868	163,617	36,458	2,873

This shows a decrease of 55,607, or .06 per cent. of the non-contributors, about half of which is accounted for by the contraction of the membership. The class contributing as in ordinary basket collection taken at every service by the trustees increased 10,860, or .02 per cent. Those giving somewhat larger sums than in ordinary basket increased 66,279, or .67 per cent. The large givers from the middle and lower classes increased 7,476, or 26 per cent. The class of large givers increased 676, or 31 per cent.

These increments, at the respective averages assigned them in the tabulation of eighteen months before, would produce:

10,860 giving 10 cents	= $1,086	676 giving $125	= 84,500
66,279 " 51 "	= 33,802		
7,476 " $10	= 74,760	Total.....	$194,148

Now, turning to the General Recapitulation in the General Minutes, we find the increase reported is $184,691. The summaries in the reports include about $21,000 in the former and $14,000 in the latter case evidently raised for local institutions of learning, but reported as if raised for the Board of Education and auxiliaries. This item was deducted in the first calculation, and must be in the latter to make the cases parallel. Then we find the results required by the increments of these different classes under the rules differ from the actual increment as shown in the General Minutes by only $4,543. Certainly this is a most surprising proof of the correctness

of the rules of analysis and classification applied to the tabulated averages, and which in their turn are accurate because proved uniformly by reverse arithmetical process. And it may be confidently expected that the same process will trace with satisfactory accuracy the collections of any year or variation of totals while the present method of taking the collections prevails.

And further, when an advance is effected, it is clear from what classes the added money comes—from the liberal few. That is, the liberal few are affected by the methods now used and the pressure as now applied. They respond more or less in proportion to the urgency of the appeal, while the great mass of the membership are unaffected by special appeals, and continue nearly stationary at their low figures. In this case, the part of the advance of $184,691 contributed by 1,672,207 members was $34,888, or an average advance of two cents each; while the part contributed by 39,331 members was $149,803, or an average advance of $4 05 each.

Distribution.

When we ask how the contributions of the people are distributed among the different benevolences, and how each one is sustained in different parts of the country, then a good system of tabulation is needed.

It will not suffice to take the Minutes and look at the compactness of the tables, the fewness of blanks, or even the magnitude of the totals. One church often gives respectability to the totals of a whole district. And as to the blanks, sometimes they would better serve the cause by remaining to tell the truth than do the figures that displace them. A few years ago, the constant reiteration of nearly every Secretary speaking at Conference was, "Take a collection;" "Take a collection, if you only get a few shillings, and give the people a chance to give." The glaring blanks gave a striking text to the speaker; they glared at the pastor and presiding elder till they produced an uneasy feeling. A few elders took pride in having their preachers report "No blanks." And for the most part the resultant change was an omnibus collection, but little increased by being omnibus, or divisions and subdivisions of little sums raised for a few of them among the whole, and so filling blanks without increase. The practice is now one of the most noticeable

characteristics of some districts and of some whole Conferences, and many pastors have the confirmed habit of leaving this kind of footprints on each successive charge. It is curious to see how little money can be made to do great things in filling blanks. Multitudes fill every blank, Woman's Foreign Missions included, with punctilious fidelity, and generally with uniform amounts, at an aggregate expense of ten cents per member. After these come other multitudes who do it just as well at half the expense; and after these come crowds of others in descending grades, till half a cent per member answers every purpose. Not a blank in some places, and in others only an occasional one, is left to cast a reproach or check the triumphant report of the presiding elder at Conference. But, alas! the benevolences are not profited by the agitation, and few are they who lay it to heart.

The proper way to show what is real and what is seeming in this matter is by applying standards.

The Newark Conference has adopted a system of standards; possibly other Conferences may have done something of the kind. Of this system, the *Minimum Standard* is for Missions, 40 cents; Church Extension, 8 cents; Freedmen's Aid, 7 cents; Bible, 4 cents; and Tract, Sunday-School and Education each 2 cents; total, 65 cents. This is understood to be too low by half to serve as a fair *Average Standard* for the Newark Conference, or any other in places where the work is established and the region is fairly prosperous.

Now, taking for a guide the average pastoral support and the character of the collections actually taken, we find this *Minimum Standard* is too low for a fair average standard in sixty-seven Conferences. By dividing it and calling the half of it a Sub-Minimum Standard, we can apply this last to eleven Conferences more. Then there will remain eleven Conferences still which will be tested with equal fairness by bisecting the standard last used, being a quarter of the Minimum Standard. Call this the *Minor Sub-Minimum Standard*, and applying these standards to every collection reported in every charge in the United States, counting the missionary collection blank only when not taken in either Church or Sunday-school, and calling those "slighted" which fall below the standard, and those "standard" which equal or exceed it, we have the following:

CONFERENCES.	Missionary.				Church Extension.				Tract.				Sunday-School.				Preachers' Aid.				Education.				Book.			
	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slipshod.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.
1 Baltimore	2	75	92	.43	13	111	15	.11	47	76	16	.12	43	82	14	.10	27	100	12	.09	46	95	14	.10	48	77	14	.10
2 Central Pennsylvania	8	106	74	.42	6	135	36	.21	33	138	16	.07	26	132	12	.06	10	134	33	.16	26	105	48	.24	48	129	6	.03
3 East German	1	9	35	.83	3	9	1	.01	3	12	2	.02	38	56	12	.11	2	2	1	.02	4	2	2	.02	37	62	3	.03
4 East Maine	12	87	3	.03	32	69	1	.01	41	59	11	.11	63	106	6	.03	32	120	2	.01	55	46	11	.07	42	92	14	.13
5 Kansas	22	154	6	.03	41	132	4	.02	65	106	8	.06	35	57	7	.06	41	40	4	.03	44	44	4	.03	52	52	14	.13
6 Maine	2	81	6	.05	18	105	4	.03	50	105	5	.05	54	96	2	.02	26	95	2	.02	37	51	2	.02	44	82	4	.03
7 Missouri	3	114	4	.02	23	129	14	.08	119	83	13	.08	119	78	9	.06	34	149	16	.10	57	84	6	.04	57	82	6	.05
8 Newark	22	111	61	.37	34	128	24	.13	62	92	25	.15	54	96	24	.15	42	119	15	.09	105	51	4	.02	33	77	5	.04
9 New England	21	126	32	.17	32	131	31	.14	47	61	24	.13	44	62	24	.13	34	83	9	.07	53	51	6	.04	37	82	6	.04
10 New England Southern	21	84	21	.17	25	62	20	.14	47	61	14	.10	44	62	14	.10	28	91	14	.10	39	51	6	.04	39	82	6	.04
11 New Hampshire	2	103	29	.17	10	145	20	.11	38	111	46	.25	105	96	27	.15	24	151	14	.08	57	84	6	.04	37	82	6	.04
12 New Jersey	5	184	52	.27	30	158	31	.14	34	117	47	.19	123	88	27	.15	18	148	14	.08	59	84	6	.04	116	77	6	.04
13 New York	26	141	73	.31	56	139	24	.10	86	77	32	.14	132	74	21	.10	13	137	24	.10	115	24	6	.03	123	80	36	.15
14 New York East	7	115	50	.30	35	129	18	.10	86	107	36	.17	125	74	14	.07	12	138	12	.07	59	84	6	.04	118	71	6	.04
15 Northern New York	9	120	21	.12	39	129	18	.09	100	6	64	.34	123	74	24	.14	12	116	12	.08	59	84	6	.04	118	71	6	.04
16 North Indiana	12	117	102	.44	19	184	33	.17	29	129	83	.46	144	62	24	.12	19	187	19	.10	57	84	6	.04	118	71	6	.04
17 Philadelphia	2	105	8	.06	20	88	9	.07	41	70	12	.10	43	61	12	.10	23	114	8	.05	37	82	6	.04	37	82	6	.04
18 Saint Louis	12	133	4	.03	29	115	14	.09	33	113	24	.15	28	125	34	.21	28	142	16	.09	35	94	6	.04	33	76	6	.04
19 South Kansas	8	136	41	.23	11	149	23	.12	34	124	24	.13	64	78	24	.13	22	126	11	.07	39	61	6	.04	37	82	6	.04
20 Troy	24	120	11	.06	11	142	9	.05	42	106	17	.10	44	85	17	.10	14	135	2	.02	59	62	6	.04	52	56	17	.16
21 Vermont	6	107	31	.20	3	163	6	.03	12	73	10	.09	14	85	17	.15	18	95	2	.02	15	47	4	.03	15	56	4	.03
22 Wilmington	9	133	35	.20	3	163	11	.06	10	136	17	.10	9	102	16	.09	10	140	4	.02	4	120	4	.02	28	137	11	.08
23 Wyoming	2	93	3	.02	10	104	10	.07	30	97	15	.10	32	91	18	.12	12	89	3	.02	10	4	2	.01	14	1	1	.01
24 Austin	4	9	10	.43	7	7	9	.39	22	3	7	.31	7	3	3	.13	13	19	3	.13	10	3	3	.13	6	3	3	.13
25 California	13	72	33	.25	41	89	18	.13	48	63	24	.17	55	63	23	.17	49	59	10	.07	58	23	6	.04	61	30	6	.04
26 Central German	2	26	67	.69	11	69	7	.06	13	67	24	.23	12	59	23	.21	7	113	46	.28	34	51	6	.04	29	113	12	.08
27 Central Illinois	2	118	78	.39	12	127	58	.28	42	147	15	.07	38	119	37	.15	28	141	35	.17	46	54	25	.12	55	51	19	.15
28 Central New York	2	92	71	.37	17	91	17	.14	37	83	41	.25	31	81	31	.19	12	94	15	.12	46	51	6	.04	33	82	6	.04
29 Central Ohio	3	136	57	.30	7	141	15	.08	43	49	21	.13	12	45	11	.10	8	105	2	.02	4	22	31	.64	3	53	1	.02
30 Chicago German	3	16	44	.72	10	104	30	.21	32	97	15	.10	32	91	18	.12	11	98	12	.08	23	38	23	.23	23	62	18	.13
31 Cincinnati	3	13	32	.67	4	5	30	.81	11	29	15	.31	11	18	19	.41	11	25	12	.23	17	12	20	.46	14	15	20	.29
32 Colorado	2	5	3	.07	4	14	21	.51	19	19	3	.07	17	13	11	.27	16	17	2	.05	17	12	20	.46	14	15	20	.29
33 Columbia River	2	26	6	.15	6	26	6	.15	26	23	3	.07	23	23	3	.07	23	23	3	.07	23	23	3	.07	23	23	3	.07
34 Des Moines	2	109	36	.24	9	119	19	.12	29	93	29	.19	29	93	29	.19	16	107	16	.07	108	28	21	.16	108	28	21	.16
35 Detroit	25	107	44	.19	23	135	29	.12	102	57	17	.06	159	47	17	.06	11	173	8	.04	33	111	51	.30	77	120	6	.03
36 East Ohio	3	117	42	.25	12	161	32	.15	30	155	10	.05	24	150	17	.08	12	162	6	.03	46	51	6	.04	41	82	6	.04
37 Erie	3	135	32	.19	22	130	11	.07	42	102	19	.12	42	102	19	.12	24	136	4	.02	28	84	6	.04	33	82	6	.04
38 Genesee	14	126	48	.29	22	135	11	.06	50	137	41	.18	50	137	41	.18	51	136	45	.19	28	84	6	.04	33	82	6	.04
39 Illinois	8	114	32	.43	39	157	8	.04	81	223	11	.04	29	132	18	.06	47	149	18	.08	48	59	6	.05	116	77	6	.04
40 Indiana	3	108	5	.05	35	76	2	.02	63	63	11	.01	37	63	1	.01	37	74	2	.02	48	59	6	.05	22	40	1	.01
41 Iowa	2	87	3	.03	7	81	7	.06	54	50	5	.04	45	55	5	.03	32	43	34	.31	54	26	9	.10	45	73	2	.02
42 Kentucky	19	65	5	.06	30	44	2	.03	61	24	4	.04	64	22	3	.03	45	40	4	.04	54	26	9	.10	45	73	2	.02
43 Michigan	25	157	42	.17	27	27	11	.06	104	121	16	.07	74	63	24	.14	49	96	19	.12	52	12	10	.07	65	17	7	.04
44 Minnesota	23	103	38	.24	17	83	51	.32	24	71	17	.10	73	63	17	.10	36	82	1	.01	39	23	3	.02	65	29	5	.03
45 Nebraska	17	63	6	.05	30	58	1	.01	46	42	3	.03	44	39	4	.03	36	62	1	.01	39	23	3	.02	65	29	5	.03
46 Nevada	4	12	8	.33	12	6	7	.24	21	...	3	.13	19	1	4	.17	20	2	2	.08	18	1	5	.21	13	...	11	.46

CONFERENCES.	Missionary.				Church Extension.				Tract.				Sunday-School.				Freedmen's Aid.				Education.				Bible.			
	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.	Blank.	Slighted.	Standard.	Per cent. of Standard.
47 North Nebraska	7	29			2	23	6	.17	16	18	12	.06	18	16	2	.06	16	29			19	18	9	.25	23	9	4	.11
48 North Ohio	2	87	34		11	83	24	.16	24	34	28	.16	35	72	17	.14	36	40	4	.9	25	62	50	.12	10	12	10	.10
49 North-west German	1	26	46	.59	23	44	41	.06	5	66	1	.01	7	61	3	.04	9	62	2	.3	28	62	50	.12	3	14	3	.10
50 North-west Iowa	11	35	5	.06	16	29	44	.54	52	5	9	.11	52	9	3	.03	27	12	12	.16	37	29	6	.19	13	6	2	.05
51 North-west Indiana	7	98	17	.15	27	74	11	.10	52	57	3	.03	50	52	3	.03	27	12	12	.16	37	29	6	.19	11	2	1	.06
52 North-west Norwegian	1	7	2	.15	3	9	2	.15	2	15	3	.16	2	15	3	.16	2	3	1	.16	4	4	1	.13	2	1	1	.02
53 North-west Swedish	1	11	3	.17	2	10	2	.14	2	13	3	.16	2	11	3	.17	2	3	1	.07	1	4	1	.07	1	1	1	.05
54 Ohio	3	121	35	.22	17	129	13	.07	21	37	15	.01	24	116	16	.02	23	123	15	.09	24	81	25	.14	9	24	9	.13
55 Oregon	8	38	5	.11	14	37	11	.11	37	15	6	.15	22	11	12	.23	23	13	5	.09	24	81	25	.14	6	21	6	.16
56 Pittsburg	8	106	34	.24	12	94	17	.12	55	32	6	.04	46	87	6	.07	39	93	1	.02	61	63	26	.14	9	17	4	.08
57 Rock River	8	70	132	.64	22	86	91	.51	52	82	52	.24	54	87	52	.24	21	62	6	.04	35	23	142	.71	12	113	57	.28
58 Saint Louis German	1	2	5	.63	2	6	2	.22	10	21	6	.07	9	30	12	.22	14	21	6	.14	22	62	26	.21	2	5	2	.08
59 South-east Indiana	3	7	7	.5	1	7	5	.19	12	9	6	.16	14	21	6	.14	16	11	13	.32	21	62	26	.21	2	5	2	.08
60 Southern California	10	21	2	.13	16	13	11	.29	23	9	2	.06	16	11	13	.32	21	16	8	.22	16	54	13	.21	2	2	1	.01
61 Southern German	1	9	2	.16	1	21	1	.04	4	15	4	.17	4	15	4	.17	6	14	4	.12	16	16	8	.08	16	16	4	.10
62 Southern Illinois	1	23	2	.08	1	22	2	.07	11	103	10	.08	4	14	4	.12	10	114	3	.02	16	16	8	.08	16	16	4	.10
63 Upper Iowa	7	82	72	.47	11	105	28	.17	11	103	10	.08	9	14	14	.12	10	114	3	.02	11	70	43	.24	11	11	4	.04
64 West German	2	14	30	.65	22	18	6	.13	28	135	21	.14	9	117	28	.19	10	59	65	.42	11	70	43	.24	23	23	20	.16
65 West Virginia	2	118	5	.04	39	33	3	.03	7	63	6	.04	7	63	6	.04	20	25	2	.04	9	8	29	.63	7	33	6	.13
66 West Wisconsin	3	88	32	.20	15	87	12	.11	32	66	1	.01	41	64	9	.08	20	25	2	.04	68	50	37	.27	60	61	11	.08
67 Wisconsin	14	81	46	.20	25	80	37	.19	43	75	21	.16	41	66	24	.21	29	85	12	.10	30	90	37	.24	60	48	6	.05
By Sub-Minimum Standard of 20 cts, for Miss., 4 Ch. Ex., 1 Tract, 1 S.-S., F. A. 4, Ed. 1, and Bible 2 cts. Total, 33 cts.																												
68 Lexington	4	23	1	.01	5	52	14	.11	67	46	7	.09	67	45	10	.09	63	46	13	.11	63	40	19	.16	62	24	6	.05
69 Louisiana	12	60	4	.05	16	52	8	.11	54	45	7	.09	47	45	10	.11	49	46	8	.11	62	39	18	.16	62	41	9	.03
70 Mississippi	28	83	1	.01	28	58	7	.07	84	25	1	.01	66	45	4	.06	44	62	4	.06	62	39	18	.16	62	41	9	.03
71 South Carolina	7	90	2	.02	37	62	1	.01	84	25	1	.01	66	45	4	.06	44	62	4	.06	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
72 Virginia	6	80	7	.06	15	62	19	.12	72	37	5	.06	46	49	4	.04	54	45	1	.01	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
73 Washington	6	110	2	.02	18	56	4	.03	64	45	3	.03	68	35	15	.13	37	57	3	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
74 Delaware	3	61	3	.03	4	65	1	.01	72	37	5	.06	47	46	10	.11	37	57	3	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
75 Holston	4	54	2	.03	15	42	3	.03	32	50	1	.01	10	64	3	.03	28	46	2	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
76 Tennessee	1	46	2	.04	7	41	2	.03	17	22	1	.02	24	32	2	.03	28	46	2	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
77 Texas	4	64	1	.02	10	46	12	.18	30	33	1	.02	24	32	2	.03	28	46	2	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
78 West Texas	5	51	1	.02	15	38	12	.22	28	33	1	.02	24	32	2	.03	28	46	2	.03	62	39	23	.19	62	25	5	.05
By Minor Sub-Minimum Standard for Miss. 10 cts., Ch. Ex. and F. A. each 2 cts., Tr., S.-S., and Ed., each ½ ct., Bible 1 ct. Total, 16½ cts.																												
79 Arkansas	21	22	6	.12	37	8	4	.08	43	6			39	4	6	.12	36	11	7	.14	46	2	1	.02	48	1		
80 Blue Ridge	7	24	1	.03	28	11			34	5	1	.14	31	5		.17	32	2	1	.03	46	2	1	.02	48	1		
81 Florida	2	11	24	.57	16	14	15	.39	25	4		.14	24	6		.20	15	12	8	.19	23	1	3	.10	24	24		
82 Little Rock	8	13	1	.04	19	4	1	.02	21	5	1	.04	19	5		.17	17	12	6	.16	22	2	4	.10	24	24		
83 North Carolina	6	36	2	.06	12	2	1	.01	20	4		.04	11	5		.11	12	12	6	.16	14	2	8	.19	24	24		
84 Alabama	6	16	2	.08	13	2	1	.02	19	5		.11	16	5		.11	12	12	6	.16	14	2	8	.19	24	18		
85 Central Alabama	12	36			24	2	1	.02	26	10	1	.06	18	10	1	.06	18	12	6	.16	14	2	8	.19	24	4		
86 Central Tennessee	4	32	3	.10	12	20	11	.23	28	10	1	.06	25	12	11	.32	21	12	6	.16	19	12	13	.21	24	24		
87 East Tennessee	3	21	3	.10	7	21	1	.03	28	11	1	.03	18	15	16	.43	19	12	6	.16	19	12	13	.21	24	24		
88 Georgia	4	14	2	.07	8	18	2	.06	18	9	1	.04	16	10	13	.36	12	12	6	.16	14	2	8	.19	24	24		
89 Savannah	12	37	2	.10	22	4	3	.08	47	12	1	.03	18	12	12	.33	24	12	6	.16	35	2	3	.10	24	24		

Here we find in the Missionary Columns, out of the sixty-seven Conferences tried by the standard of forty cents, there are thirteen Conferences having over 50 per cent. of standard collections. They include every one of the nine Conferences of the foreign-born brethren and four others, and they rank as follows: (1) Southern German, 96 per cent.; (2) East German, 83; (3) N. W. Swedish, 76; (4) N. W. Norwegian, 76; (5) Chicago German, 72; (6) Central German, 71; (7) Colorado, 67; (8) West German, 65; (9) St. Louis German, 63; (10) Rock River, 61; (11) Central Illinois, 59; (12) N. W. German, 59; (13) Central Ohio, 57 per cent.

In the Church Extension columns there appear nine Conferences that have, over 50 per cent. of collections, as high as eight cents per member. Six of these are of the foreign-born, five German and the N. W. Swedish. The Colorado, Columbia River, and N. W. Iowa are the other three.

In the Tract Society columns, the only Conference in the sixty-seven that has more than 50 per cent. of collections, as high as two cents per member, is the East German; while ten of them have not over 2 per cent. of the number of collections, amounting to so much as two cents per member.

In the columns of the Sunday-School Union, the East German Conference is the only one again that has over 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as two cents per member, among the sixty-seven.

In the columns of the Freedmen's Aid Society there is not one of these Conferences having 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as seven cents per member. The highest is the Rock River, 48 per cent., and the next to it is the Central Illinois with 28 per cent. At the other extreme, we find nineteen of these Conferences do not exceed 2 per cent. of collections up to this standard.

The Educational columns have so much money reported in them that was raised for local institutions of learning, and not for the Board of Education or auxiliary societies, as to affect considerably a comparison like the preceding. This important Board needs reconstruction. It is capable of great improvement in respect to its methods, efficiency, and harmony with the other benevolences of the Church.

In the columns of the American Bible Society, the Rock

River Conference is the only one that has so much as 50 per cent. of collections, amounting to so much as four cents per member.

Let it be kept in mind that the standard by which these collections are tested is about half high enough for a fair average for the Conferences respectively, while we note that in the whole Church in the United States 25 per cent. of the Missionary collections are standard; 16 per cent. of the Church Extension; 11 per cent. of the Tract; 14 per cent. of the Sunday-School; 9 per cent. of the Freedmen's Aid; 33 per cent. of the Educational, and 10 per cent. of the Bible collections are standard.

Are our Members Exceptionally Wanting in Liberality to these Benevolences?

These figures certainly have an unfavorable look on their surface; and there is no relief except to such minds as could find it in less favorable appearances under the surface of the figures of other Churches of high respectability.

Some have thought the lesson they teach so humiliating that it is not wise to publish them, lest they depress too much the spirit of the Church, and damage its reputation before the religious public and the world. But is it not better to look the worst faults squarely in the face and study the case till we are fully impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking, and then to gird ourselves to remedy the evils? If the present generation of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church are not able or disposed to place themselves in their true position in this matter, then are they unworthy of the generations gone before, whose name and work and honors they have inherited. Is not a deep sense of the need of a reformation one of the most potent causes tending to bring it about?

The figures previously published, on which these are a fair improvement, have been widely commented on, not always in a friendly spirit, and often to make out a case that could not stand in the light of other facts shown in the article from which they were taken.

Religious papers of various denominations, and others claiming to be undenominational, while imperfectly concealing their

affinities, have rung the changes on these figures with an air that implied a consciousness of greatly superior faithfulness among themselves. And yet, in almost every case, if a comparison were made with equivalent conditions, the result would turn in favor of the Church now disparaged. Our superficial investigator, and sometimes supercilious writer, sees the figures, discards concomitant facts, turns to comparative tables such as are found in Dr. Dorchester's book, and furnishes his readers with very erroneous conclusions and misleading comments. In this case the large and liberal givers were eliminated, and also other classes of givers, for the purpose of bringing to the proper attention those who needed instruction and exhortation to attend to a neglected duty.

If we take the Presbyterian Church, certainly a good representative of the Evangelical constellation, we find at first sight that our Church is giving one fourth as much per member as theirs. But if we proceed a little further, and take a score of the largest contributing churches and add them to a score of the largest individual offerings, we shall find the effect on the average is enormous, while the same thing in the Methodist Episcopal Church would affect the general average but little. The Presbyterian Church has thirty charges unequaled by our highest, and has been still more greatly blessed beyond our own with princely givers to these benevolences. The true way to get at the facts is to take all gifts of churches and of individuals, such as have no counterparts with us, add them together, and deduct the amount. Then match the per centage of the different classes of givers of equal ability, or place side by side churches of equal financial strength, then it will be seen that a larger per centage of Methodist than Presbyterian churches are in the lead; and if in the lower three fourths of the membership a comparison could be made, member with member of equal ability, the Methodists would appear in the more favorable light. This is because Methodism has been more dependent on the gifts of the middle and lower classes, and has made more effort, and by the peculiarity of organization has been able to make more successful effort, to obtain contributions from them. The Presbyterian Church has 44 per cent. of blanks in the reports of collections corresponding to these under consideration, against 28 per cent. in ours. Their higher grade churches have fewer

blanks than ours,* so that in the lower nine tenths of the churches twenty per cent. of which are without pastors, their blanks are nearly twice as numerous as ours.

The Reformed, (Dutch,) another highly respectable Church, standing near the Presbyterian in Dr. Dorchester's tables, has been examined, and is found to report nearly three times our per centage of churches giving nothing, though almost the entire Church corresponds to our older northern Conferences, with nothing equivalent to our new work in the South and Far West where the greater per centages of blanks occur. If the contributing churches had been tabulated as ours have been, and equally fair rules of analysis and classification applied, the per centage of non-contributing members would exceed ours. A few of the smaller Methodist bodies exceed us because their methods are better, though in some cases their ability is less, and here and there one of the smaller denominations, better circumstanced than we are, may exceed us; but, taking the evangelical Churches as a whole, and we are considerably above the average of them in what is done by the lower nine tenths of the membership.

The true attitude of most of our critics is not that of complacent censors, but of inquirers, with fallen countenance and bated breath, asking, "What, then, must be the number of our members who are giving nothing toward the world's conversion?"

The true lesson of these figures teaches to ask, How many millions of Church members in good and regular standing in their respective Churches, outside of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are giving nothing? and, What shall each Church do in its own way to rally its entire forces and develop its latent power for this work?

Emphatic as is the language of those disturbing figures, the article from which they are taken shows by facts as emphatic that they are neither the result of inability nor indisposition; they come about by defectiveness of method. Our people have done as well as they have been taught and asked to do when the manner and spirit of the asking is taken into the account.

A striking example of the readiness of our people to respond to a benevolence like these, when presented in a fairly effective way, is found in the case of the success of the Woman's Foreign

* Forty-eight of the 89 churches that each stand highest in their respective Conferences report blanks, the 48 aggregate 107 blanks.

Missionary Society. Their collection is purely voluntary. No pastor takes it up, no member is bound by vow or law to contribute to it. The claim is not more sacred, nor the work more important, than that of those organized by the General Conference. Only about a fifth part of the charges have their work organized, but its method is a good one for the purpose, and so it has outrun every benevolence of the Church in the race for success.

There are reported to the credit of this society 4,158 collections, of which 1,588 are not over $2, and are probably the gift of one or two persons; or they come by the pastor's including this with those among which he divides what he has to fill his blanks, as can be seen by the uniformity of the sums running across the list, leaving 2,570 collections, or 25 per cent. of the whole number of charges. Yet there are found 1,045 collections that are multiples of all the six (Church Extension, Tract, Sunday-School, Freedmen's Aid, Education, and Bible) collections on the same charges added together. And after these come 561 collections of sums nearly as large as the sum of these six added together on the same charges.

Now, if the claim of the collection or the obligation of the giver should be measured by the character and necessities of the work, then the amount raised for these six collections should be to the amount raised for Woman's Foreign Missions as about four to one; just as the amount raised for the parent Missionary Society should be to that for Woman's Foreign Missions as about eight to one, and all the benevolences organized by the General Conference as twelve to one of this.

The 1,045 charges mentioned above gave altogether for Woman's Foreign Missions $67,878 66, and the 561 which each gave nearly as much as to the six combined gave $24,772 57. The 1,606 charges together gave $92,651 23, or 86 per cent. of the total of $107,673.

It is safe to say that our sisters have not overdone their work at many points, and that in these very charges, giving these extra-proportionate amounts, ten have stopped short of what might properly and ought to have been done where one has gone beyond it. It is equally certain that as earnest a presentation of these six benevolences, by a method as well chosen and a purpose as strong and true and ambitious to raise the

needed money, would have resulted in collections for these proportionately as good as the one obtained by our sisters.

The same may be said of the general missionary collection. Then the managers of every one of the General Conference's benevolences would not have to limit, and often cripple by retrenchment, the plans of their agents in the field, cutting down the amounts pleaded for, and finding themselves unable to enter new fields of the most promising character; while seeing their sisters able to make appropriations beyond what is asked for by their agents in the field, and stimulated by the very funds committed and likely to be committed to their hands to seek new fields of useful operations.

The forty Conferences made notable by charges raising more money for Woman's Foreign Missions than for the six General Conference collections combined range as follows:

	In multiples of, or nearly as much as, for six Gen. Conf. collections combined.		In multiples of, or nearly as much as, for six Gen. Conf. collections combined.
1 Ohio	$5,760 25	21 N. W. Indiana	$1,527 09
2 New York	4,989 72	22 Central Ohio	1,508 12
3 New England	4,438 00	23 New Hampshire	1,469 71
4 Michigan	3,923 62	24 Wisconsin	1,412 18
5 Cincinnati	3,732 05	25 Northern New York	1,368 67
6 Iowa	3,724 80	26 Erie	1,225 66
7 Baltimore	3,623 08	27 Vermont	1,221 98
8 East Ohio	3,597 52	28 Pittsburg	1,188 00
9 Detroit	2,941 35	29 New Jersey	1,114 48
10 Rock River	2,870 86	30 Central Pennsylvania	1,105 44
11 New York East	2,375 11	31 S. E. Indiana	1,075 43
12 Central New York	2,064 50	32 Illinois	1,027 27
13 Troy	2,006 93	33 St. Louis	921 79
14 North Ohio	1,969 74	34 Washington	886 46
15 Upper Iowa	1,904 23	35 Wyoming	873 30
16 Des Moines	1,836 95	36 Central Illinois	853 07
17 New England Southern	1,778 00	37 Indiana	834 28
18 Genesee	1,622 00	38 Newark	794 00
19 Minnesota	1,619 09	39 Kansas	727 27
20 North Indiana	1,606 51	40 Philadelphia	714 86

It is possible that a few of these large amounts may be the special contributions of one or more wealthy and benevolent persons, but is not likely that enough such could be named to greatly modify the showing. A large number of the churches above represented have also shown the noblest liberality on many occasions when worthy appeals for large sums have been made to them for various objects.

Who is Responsible?

First, and above any other class, a majority of the presiding elders. Their office holds the key to the situation. They derive their importance chiefly from their being the custodians of general and connectional interests. It is their duty to bring the subject before every Quarterly Conference. They should do this with a knowledge of what has been done, and what ought to be done, and with a purpose and plan to get the charge committed to measures of improvement till the proper support is given to each benevolence. For this they have special facilities through the standing committees on each of them. The perfunctory way in which the disciplinary questions are asked, is utterly worthless in nineteen cases out of twenty. Presiding elders hold Quarterly Conferences in which they see several men who ought each to give more to several of the benevolences than the whole membership are in the habit of giving, and these men are often found on the committees on these benevolences. Here a little well-directed counsel and organization would be very effective, and produce great results. But, so sadly often no other influence comes from the elder than a little more smothering. Pastors are many who will say they have never had a word or an act of encouragement from the elder in this work, while they have had implied and sometimes direct and positive discouragement. What must be the effect of such words as these from an elder among his preachers and people?—"I fear we are overdoing these collections to the injury of other interests nearer home." "We shall have to let you up on the benevolences." "I would not try to increase them." The authors of these words rank among the best in the eldership; they have been popular and have received honors, and are men of many and rare excellences of character; but are they not out of place when appointed to lead the Church to the performance of duty to such vital interests? Still, it must be admitted that they have only spoken what many others have habitually acted.

It is not a little significant that one of the best informed, and at the same time one of the most efficient, elders remarked to the writer, as advocating this cause, "The presiding elders are all against you." This last remark was hyperbolical; a few

of them show favorable enthusiasm, as a few of them are exceedingly efficient in promoting these interests. So much so, that the benevolences could well afford to pay their salaries to keep them perpetually in the same office, and profit by the transaction, as would probably the other interests of the Church in similar degree. But the per centage of such is small, and one of the desiderata in Methodism is a class of presiding elders that will promote the benevolences as they deserve.

This evil has an encouraging feature—it can be easily remedied. Whenever a candidate is proposed for a district, let the Bishop ask in cabinet, What is his record respecting the benevolences? and other things being equal, let the answer determine the appointment; then a remarkable waking up will occur. In addition to this, let the results on each district be carefully tabulated, to bring out the progress or retrogress every year, and, at the end of the second year of inefficiency, return the elder to the pastorate. One such removal would inspire a Conference, and be worth thousands annually for years to the benevolences.

The next class of persons bearing the most responsibility for the poor results is made up of those pastors who uniformly run down the collections on each successive charge. If a graduated tabulation be constructed showing the rank or comparative standing of each charge in the Conference, and if this be repeated for a term of years, placing the number for each year in its proper column opposite the name of the charge, then it will only be necessary to inclose in brackets the years included in each pastoral term to show how many progressing or declining terms there are in the Conference. If the names of the incumbents be written over the pastoral terms, the historical record will be complete, and the credit and responsibility will be established. In most cases a small minority of names will be found connected uniformly with the terms showing advance, while a larger number will be found uniformly with the terms showing declension. Between these extremes may be seen, among the varying terms, which ones have a generally upward and which a generally downward tendency.

The Newark Conference, which is one of the most suitable to be taken for an example, as being about one third of the way from the bottom of the better half of our Northern and older Conferences in respect to the support given to the

benevolences, has been thus tabulated for the last twenty-one years, during which time there were 1,977 pastoral terms, 787 of which show relative advance, and 983 show a stationary grade. Omitting such as have served only one term, 29 pastors' names are *always* connected with advancing terms; 41 names are *always* connected with declining terms; 78 names are connected with many advances and few declines; and 98 are connected with many declines and few advances. The following is the

HISTORICAL TABULATION OF THE NEWARK CONFERENCE SHOWING THE RANK TAKEN EACH YEAR BY EACH CHARGE IN SUPPORTING THE BENEVOLENCES:

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Westfield	1	2	3	1	2	7	6	4	4	3	2	6	14	11	16	26	33	29	41	52	55
Trinity, Jersey City	2	13	5	3	1	1	2	6	10	10	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
Saint Paul's, Newark	3	3	4	6	6	8	5	7	10	8	7	7	6	3	11	2	4	4	2	2	0
Braddinz, Jersey City	4	5	2	2	5	8	9	10	9	5	12	5	10	5	4	6	4	10	9	4	11
Halsey-street, Newark	5	25	26	24	19	6	23	23	21	21	24	23	29	22	43	23	14	21	21	29	24
Montclair	6	10	20	10	8	11	14	14	11	15	15	19									
Calvary, Orange	7	4	9	4	10	4	4	3	8	11	5	9	2	6	7	10	13	22	38	63	43
First Church, Orange	8	8	6	5	4	5	3	8	9	6	9	2	6	7	10	13	22	38	63	43	45
Morristown	9	17	15	19	18	14	13	6	5	7	9	8	12	6	15	7	9	8	5	4	3
Saint James, Elizabeth	10	6	8	14	11																
Plainfield	11	12	12	8	9	12	12	12	22	31	37	105	20	31	61	74	98	104	111	110	110
Central, Newark	12	11	7	9	7	3	3	5	8	4	3	4	4	5	2	4	3	1	7	8	4
Park Church, Elizabeth	13	21	35	36	34	47	210														
New Prospect	14	62	99	79	71	59	54	46	50	76	93	75	91	57	102	104	75	79	85	50	51
Roseville, Newark	15	14	11	13	13	15	10	15	15	16	16	26	25	33	17	36	61	48	116	25	23
Bernardsville	16	28	1	38	32	68	111	31	28	32	30	30	30	37	43	41	101	61	52	55	19
Market-street, Paterson	17	19	19	21	49	29	35	35	14	12	38	12	53	43	51	41	66	74	89	117	99
Saint Philip's, Paterson	18	206	9	98	95	24	8														
Summit	19	16	24	21	23	17	21	29	23	15	22	13	40	93							
Lafayette, Jersey City	20	7	13	7	12	12	17	9	7	9	11	14	16								
Englewood	21	9	17	12	3	4	10	6	6	17	9	8	8	6	5	7	23	130			
Trinity, Staten Island	22	20	25	50	35	32	53	39	34	25	13	18	18	28	32	29	30	29	21	28	25
Linden Avenue, Jersey City	23	44	37	43	31	50	29	28	25	28	19	20	31	38	32	35	66	109	117	79	22
Livingston	24	24	22	18	36		27	40	24	72	57	92	94	122							
Woodbridge	25	35	50	42	56	37	52	33	45	39	33	17	13	12	14	5	7	13	5	9	
Saint Mark's, Staten Island	26	18	14	15	15	27	34	20	18	40											
Bethel, Staten Island	27	41	31	32	24	41	47	46	41	52	39	31	26	15	11	17	20	18	39	34	43
Hackettstown	28	22	38	20	25	22	29	21	51	63	49	28	24	34	35	31	16	33	47	42	67
Trinity, Newark	29	33	29	45	95	130	59	69	65	60	81	71	114	94	77	46	27	6	7	27	
West End, Jersey City	30	37	36	30	89	141	129	72	137	117	111	96	109								
Kingsley, Staten Island	31	29	21	17	44	28	24	30	23	25	25	15	21	19	66	14	11	10	54	43	
Arlington	32	40	46	34	51	40	111														
New Providence	33	51	54	57	151	98	93	59	115	86	100	61	44	54	25	27	24	34	26	21	38
Asbury, Hackensack	34	78	91	105	43	105	153	202		1	5	11	19	18							
First Church, Hackensack	35	32	74	47	51	31	41	63	42	74	54	47	56	36	24	8	21	51	45	85	51
Centenary, Newark	36	31	58	58	83	110	135	127	155	115	123	151									
First Church, Dover	37	11	27	15	15	17	26	37	37	37	47	50	75	102	84	87	76	85	74	86	75
Port Morris	38	23	75																		
South Orange	39	26	64	71	85	136	140	163	195	116	85	47	84	81	98			130	131	132	125
Free Tabernacle, Hoboken	40	34	16	27	24	24	16														
Centenary, Jersey City	41	15	30	26	17	15	17	25	36	74	118	105	132	130							
Watsessing	42	39	32	25	73	204	171	109	180	192											
Spring Valley	43	50	63	45	46	57	102	57	61	113	102	85	63	99	50	41	38	48	69	62	55
West Side Avenue, Jersey City	44	30	28	33	49	74	45	34	48	47											
Haverstraw	45	47	48	58	63	48	72	77	72	70	49	51	39	35	40	44	66	44	59	44	44
Bound Brook	46	43	33	31	30	25	50	50	52	53	21	38	43	27	32	48	18	15	95		
Stanhope and Waterloo	47	54	62	63	48	71	50	52	63	57	57	53	52	59	72	42	57	59	33	32	17
Mauch Chunk	48	80	85	103	155	106	122	157	170	143	142	57	104								
First Church, Hoboken	49	58	65	48	42	40	41	36	33	33	28	18	113	88	64	72	37	50	22	23	35
Asbury and Travisville, S. I.	50	76	90	60	53	64	73	61	76	64	53	68	118	113	88	64	72	37	50	22	23
Orange Park	51	59	104	170	162		122	202	80	98	95	147	123	65			118				
Morristown	52	80	112	117	129	93	68	95	125	105	130	126	103	109	75	68	80	83	93	77	58
Green Village	53	88	60	66	149	71	137	66	47	56	187	64								17	29
Andover	54	60	68	126	101	98	102	83	74	88	112	106	136	104	113	77	122	135			
Grace, Staten Island	55	42	43	73	76	79	171	16	13	141	19	41	127	140	142						
Saint Paul's, Jersey City	56	48	52	63	54	30	32	28	31	33	29	24	11	13	12	21	11	16	11	12	6
Arcola	57	57	56	44	92	55	45	110	12	15	157	177									
Fulton-street, Elizabeth	58	50	41	40	40	31	17	13	44	52	50	40	28	25	18	30	17	35	50	18	33
Palisade, Jersey City	59	33	23	11	23	21	79	53	37	40	36	27	16	19	24	20	35	45	46	68	53
Little Falls	60	123	111	115	97	81	107	115	119	123	119	120	99	92	81	89	99	67	114	126	127
Roselle	61	90	103	186	185	204	210	110	59												

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Woodrow, Staten Island	62	66	60	53	70	63	79	88	72	61	113	105	91	24	27	33	46	47	38	50	55
Raritan	63	42	40				85	13	20	27											
Newton	64	87	67	55	69	68	48	58	52	51	53	45	41	72	84	38	34	36	34	35	49
Clinton	65	68	57	75	73	81	61	86	127	119	75	55	51	64	73	109	83	65	86	40	31
Hoboken	66	167	122	120	121	210	56	55	17	35	143	83	19								
Nyack	67	45	34	30	26	50	46	43	33	20	11	65	24	92	33	35	66	50	126	86	74
Franklin	68	30	35	29	30	32	22	26	33	37	37	33	35	99	60	41	28	6	10	13	
Prospect-street, Paterson	69	65	58	93	87	79	125	165	116	47	70	65	75	31	95	73	69	70	71	78	
Washington	70	46	47	40	45	79	92	105	112	112	92	61	49	72	55	54	50	72	48	45	53
Verona	71	91	82	84	44	43	59	149	195	105	87	81	42	56	49	102	71	111	83	73	14
Denville & Rockaway Valley	72	78	119	100	121	137	129	160	158	165	187	130	130				124	72	118	121	111
New Germantown	73	98	94	141	151	93	98	84	98	180	187	94	82	69	68	70	54	52	67	62	41
Hillsdale and Pearl River	74	56	51	67	126	204	210														
Bloomfield	75	77	45	30	16	28	19	23	35	29	21	31	30	37	22	2	56	106	94	111	106
Hibernia and Greenville	76	259	226	178	158	87	58	129	115	84	114	113	129	120	156						
Quakertown & Mount Salem	77	82	18	146	121	108	88	100	158	175	156	130	137	96	95	122	95	99	97	91	115
Union and Pattenburg	78	51	70	82	108	124	70	135	57	96	125	123									
Asbury and Bethlehem	79	123	84	135	149	106	82	50	102	62	63	93	48	79	64	64	116	121	83	70	77
Union-street, Newark	80	54	58	58	58	50	54	80	89	59	90	41	44	63	29	55	37	43	58	65	64
Madison	81	73	73	64	62	72	51	59	19	18	46	54	62	42	43	47	52	49	47	58	58
Rockaway	82	61	52	51	95	47	70	38	69	47	77	56	68	87	123	43	118	99	107	67	84
Second Church, Dover	83	130	154	146	57	170															
Succasunna	84	59	73	79	126	115	60	62	86	69	104	98	68	82	73	96	88	74	94	83	83
Weehawken	85	64				204	212														
Bellville	86	89	42	27	101	94	68	78	103	57	43	94	77	50	49	23	23	25	30	32	55
Eighth Avenue, Newark	87	70	118	94	72	91	141	126	87	61	62	46	35	58	36	46	64	41	35	38	18
Simpson, Jersey City	88	64	49	32	51	44	49	44	63	79	63	51	33	48	26	19	15	15	22	50	1
Bayonne	89	112	108	37	58	88	58	31	112	45	60	134	67	137	86	105	84	132		134	128
Somerville	90	100	79	82	77	57	150	140	160	82	102	87	77	47	57	70	83	61	59	73	
Second Church, Rahway	91	74	68	58	56	77	51	46	45	84	16	24	58	60	31	43	8	83	63	101	111
Morning View	92	186	200	200																	
Saint Luke's, Newark	93	71	87	90	138	102	84	30	44	41	55	73	49	60	40	39		34	60		
De Groot, Newark	94	200																			
Mount Horeb	95	95	121	114	111	102	107	105	145	127	40	150	143	134	134		82	111	104	98	111
Sparta and Ogdensburg	96	81	128	117	12	143	140	65	110	95	86	101	116	120	89	85	107	98	89	120	106
New Dover	97	181	158	165	155	172	129	73	120	146	141	57	27	27	17	37	17	31	14	57	
Saint Paul's, Staten Island	98	72	61	58	58	46	61	56	40	45	63	61	87	55	56	84	59	57	63	62	41
Grace, Paterson	99	164	161	138	149	129	161	157	135	107	110	109	109	130	134	126					
Bloomingdale	100	152	154	154	154	160	152	154	154	154	154	154	154	154	154	157	135	130	100	117	97
Everettstown and Little York	101	114	103	93	129	136	173	174	195	132	120	151	116	84	59						
Mount Hermon	102	83	110	83	90	55	115	78	76	89	77	113	81	68	93	100	126	94	80	102	78
Romsville	103	173	206	74	205	204	137														
Belvidere	104	100	107	124	108	115	115	126	85	149	73	73	74	39	45	40	36	64	66	67	97
Alpine	105	76	78	78	78	78	117	85	79	78	78	78	78	78	78						
Clinton and Pine Brook	106	93	100	157	143	102	146	142	106	103	121	98	77	81	56	77	94	66	77	76	70
First Church, Phillipsburg	107	92	124	71	115	57	61	60	59	65	107	116	106	63	62	48	60	62	76	86	86
Broadway	108	128	151	158	143	151	70	160	152	132	148	153	127	120	101	75	57	70	69	99	
Chester	109	69	81									164	156								
Mechanicsville (Eliz. Dis.)	110	165	206	88	92	61	88	96	144	126	95	88									
Rockland Lake	111	49	38	28	17	10	43	15	55	107	68	32	9	4	8	19	9	26	36	36	20
Flemington	112	108	80	68	73	124	68	78	112	114	70	101	81	105	84	119	122	114	104	94	121
Port Oram and Tebo	113	137	116	109	95	86	75	42	75	77	60	80									
St. John's and Mt. Zion, S. I.	114	117	90	79	81																
Peapack	115	93	81	93	80	93	70	125	145	70	84	94	68	54	64	56	41	30	27	15	18
Port Jervis	116	110	136	135	125	143	169	139	110	82	102	103	101	99	92	51	51	79	58	52	51
Wesley Chapel, Phillipsburg	117	91	92	117	143	115	129	113	103												
Springfield	118	115	165	151	176	157	158	163	161	55	48	57	137	130	66	88	27	66	111	111	64
Anderson and Mt. Lebanon	119	124	125	151	148	140	140	90	115	121	143	135	150	117	98	124	110	109	105	64	
Walnut Grove	120	141	157	171	183	168	140	126	120	92											
James Chapel, Jersey City	121	85	98	70	135	115	107	71	84	125	187	159									
Passaic	122	118	100	125	180	204	161	80	15	11	24	21	24	5	3	3	18	9	11	6	10
Tranquility	123	135	150	83	81	74	70	69	71	89	80	88	47	80	120	94	126	103	96	61	61
Cross-street, Paterson	124	129	162	124	115	138	147	157	181	150	95	106	73	103	72	86	94	46	44	56	
Perth Amboy	125	96	108	75	64	120	67	100	122	121	121	128	104	109	106	109	44	62	67	122	92
White Hall	126	157	145	135	162	129	50	157	173	180	149	159	82	156							
Hainesville and Centerville	127	187	187	146	138	143	129	103	93	109	128	130	108	84	85	55	49	57	48	78	69
Bloomsbury and F	128	121	92	95	129	164	142	174	160	155	149	147	156	142	117	105	101	116	105		90
Maplewood	129	105	95	82	101	106	129	202	185	163	231	90	120	156							
Clarksville and Junction	130	101	88	117	129	113	122	89	79	77	33	34	43	45	41	24	23	89	74	73	67
Stony Point & Johnsontown	131	126	123	82	126	95	75	78	169	112	121	118	106	109	110	131					
West Milford	132	104	97													124	127				
Milford	133	92	95	99	115	115	140	121		86	101	83	109		122	77	80	101	24	33	45
Summerfield, Staten Island	134	133	105	75	101	74	75	80	76	70	83	65	58	77	64	64	76	41	16	28	61
Mount Hope	135	106	114	88	58	85	90	100	88	92	55	75	88								
Buttzville	136	150	117	125	185	154	178	167	175	173	151	126	125	164	125	125	128	112	109	111	
Walpack Center	137	180	167	178	169	136	153	110	73	103	161	109	114	113	117	120	104	72	57	46	95
Dumpling	138	124	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93
Blairstown	139	188	203	171	172	129	163	172	149	140	107	149	110	121	117	120	107				
Emory, Jersey City	140	142	147	109	111	120	103	135	177	192	187	87	58	10	30	15	80	101	71	86	
Monsey and Montvale	141	171	160	114	108	89	119	78	152	108											
Johnsonburg	142	137	236	185	205																
Waverley, Jersey City	143	67	59	58	40	26	31	24	43	99											
Kingwood and Rosemont	144	134	134	154	115	204	86	144	133	110	125	155	137			123	116	56	83	121	92
Washington and Allertown	145	115	155	130	74	143	115	77	140	89	115	116	120	127	104						
Vienna and James Chapel	146	163	126	151	155	151	147	149	163	136	142	99	91	143	120	117	118	90	43	58	71
High Bridge and Lebanon	147	158	159	158	155	154	149	126	127												
Linden	148	206	206	186	172	204	210	202													
Sergeantsville	149	141	133	141	141	67	102	136	98	101	67	57	89	117	95	91	93	40			
Basking Ridge, etc	150	120	138	53	62	68	75	61	129	73	85	49	66	74	63	93	64	39	51	59	26

CHARGES.	1882.	1881.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.	1871.	1870.	1869.	1868.	1867.	1866.	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Summerfield and Montana..	151	120	120	120	162	143	164														
Flanders and Drakestown..	152	138	130	126	101	79	111	84	166	125	110	73	132	132	110	114	80	80	100	67	75
Davis Memorial, Newark....	153	106	83	106	120	113	210		150	163	104	86	68	47	69	91	24	17	66	10	124
Pahvant and Piermont.....	154	206	206	200	203	190	202	135	122	70	48	164	39	88	106	23		13	32	26	23
Millstone.....	155	136	131	109	14	165	210	202	54	35	150	112	145	45	80	81	62	57	49	50	51
Oxford.....	156	179	163	163	115	157	164	142	142	180	140	100									
Libertyville and Coleville..	157	109	101	163	155	201	210	147	116	183	157	157	164	113	151	131	132	124			119
Saint John's Miss'n, Newark	158	182	206	189	129	106	128	80	158	187	103										
Newfoundland.....	159							98	175	166	143	111	134								
Communipaw.....	160	205	206	201	205		210	202	195								138				
Harmony and Stewartsville.	161	162	162	186	180	204	164	172	165	146	120	184	137			96	116	125	119	111	106
West Town and Unionville..	162	185	183	180	172	176	175	202	179	150	135	156	145	113	132						
Dockertown.....	163	156	153	141	127	142	119	65	91	80	109	80	64	92	70	66	112	111	89	83	64
Bethlehem & Frankf't Pl'ns	164	147	140	130	106	79	96	135	98	121	153	126	132	91	122						
Tabernacle and Garnerville..	165	119	121	82	111	124	39	126	137	123							106	104	98	115	
Saltwater and Swartswood..	166	175	178	176	155	154	156	174	141	149	121	134	130	137	113	127	122	70	104	84	106
Hilton.....	167	144	206																		
First Church, Rahway.....	168	150	148	171	73	87	125	46	90	75	50	18	22	17	20	50	25	45	38	75	60
Passapanny and Whippanny..	169	206	172	180	162				119	123					84	62	85	67	86	70	63
Green's Bridge, Phillipsburg	170	143	152	158	148	98	210														
Boonton.....	171	174	173	176	205	204	125	146	122	160	92	106	96	77	70	126	47	25	21	48	38
Market-street, Newark.....	172	190	206	200	207	204	210	202	177	167	157	151	158	73	77	91	10	15	4	13	7
Cokesbury and Califon.....	173	177	174	171	172	162	90	117	172	163	142	133	89	124	106	102	60	69	86	91	84
Frenchtown.....	174	152	106	114	69	71	39	122	131	146	115	157	132	129	115	105	126	80	100	79	114
Centerville, (Elizabeth Dist.)	175	187	180	151	163	204	210	202	131	123	28										
Rutherford.....	176	206	205	195	190	204	210	202	52	26	154										
Port Colden.....	177	156	146	106	115																
Middle Smithfield.....	178	172	173	180	187	172	180	193	145	185	157	177	152	140	137	153					
Livingston.....	179	146	125	156	138	143	161	19	37	50	43	36	77	23	13	34	32	21	17	16	12
Riverdale.....	180	153	206	194	205	204	210	202	170	180	142	177	164	112	131	129					
Hope.....	181	155	157	186	137	204	96	78	129	126	8	55	65	84	82	75	119	127	121	96	46
Mechanicsville, (J. C. Dist.)	182	123	104	93	67		95		105		1	1	53	58	73	77	91	93	113	77	49
La Fayette.....	183	131	96	150	74	87	102	142	76	117	104	109	100	76	75	59	75	74	85	56	55
Wesley Chapel and Sufferns	184	129	77	93	67	129	120	135	181	169	152							87		117	78
Columbia and Hainesburg..	185	169	120	98	85	87	119	105	83	123	126	139	142	123	110	77	130	122	119	99	96
Barryville.....	186	148	177	170	151	204	147	174	136	141	147	145	127	106	97	82	109	94	127	105	78
Paterson Avenue, Paterson.	187	170	170	126	121	126	175	84	151	93	103	109	83	103							
Spartanburg and Mongaup..	188	113	106	171	187	204	210	160	106	20	52	115	84								
Osbsville.....	189	178	142	163	115	157	150	165	91	159	132	103	98	106	101	105	85	88	99	99	41
Houston-street, Newark....	190	206	206	82	205	204	210														
Mount Bethel.....	191	154	140	126	153	151	180	174	168	154	137		164	156		119	114	119	108		
Campaw.....	192	158	206	175	178	174	198	168	187	141											
New Grace and Centenary..	193	157	133	71	205	142	141		142	44	80	145	148								
Vernon and Greenville.....	194	191	132	141	143	91	80	123	181	154	142	134	125	117	109	89	98	116	114	116	99
Centerville, (J. C. Dist.)....	195	164	145	117	106				106	143	132	120		91		109	104	77	78	72	56
Franklin-street, Newark....	196	206	206	109	92	74	61	59	60	41	53	43	58	62	50	51	73	57	57	43	39
Forestburg.....	197	168	176	186	176	174	173	153	161	176	122	151	148	140	134		82	133	125		
Union Village ($5).....																					
Scotch Plains.....	200	155	206	163	205	204	210	202	195		187										
Strawbridge, Newark.....	201	206	144	108	162	204	210														
Orange Mission.....	202																				
Mount Zion.....	203	206	206	160	168				195	193	187	177	161	156	142	115	156	128	89	105	123
Oakland.....	204	189	144	146	151	204	156	152	69	152	155										
Hurdtown and Hopatcong..	205	161	208	190	205	204	210	181	172	178	165	150	124	82	115						
Pamrapo.....	206	165	206				210														
New Vernon.....	208	206	206	168	143	87	115	78	100	175	142	78	164	156	142						
Saint Paul, Belleville.....				48	46	47	49														
Clinton-street, Newark.....				51	121	106	111	121	78	10	25	14	17	20	9	14	11	14	18	7	8
Stockholm.....				142	162	174	178	174	161												
Tebo.....							37	128													
Wamsque.....							210	202													
Califon.....								3	66	42	177										
Saint Paul's, Elizabeth.....						2	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	7	10					
Pleasant Valley.....						36	21														
Natch, Paterson.....						33	22	153	168												
Pardippany.....						53	63	96			166	177	141	143							
Danish and Swedish Mission						62	210	202													
Somerville and Raritan.....						68															
Wildpany.....						162	93	202		70	94	164	131								
Bentham and Livingston.....						120												54	48	91	24
Elizabeth Ave., Elizabeth...						169	137	81	93	33	45	52	72	67	45	58	53	3	3	3	3
Mariners' Harbor.....						204	210														
Bergen-street, Newark.....						204	210	202													
Caldwell's and J.....						204	210	202	195	180	187	177	161								
Middleville.....						157	210	202	161	149	187	177									
Hamburg and O.....							120														
Centerville, Staten Island..											42										
Springfield and New Village.									93	55	48										
Goodwinville.....									145	156	120	60	111	75							
Franklin, (Newton District).									195		164	156	98								
Bank-street.....									153	171	153	177	50	156	127	57	19	99	41	59	92
City Mission, Newark.....									195	192	187	177	164	156	91	85					
Ludentown.....										123	139	113	115	142							
Piermont.....																					
Milford and Little York.....																124	121	25	40	52	29
Marshall Creek.....																108	76	55	78	105	99
Mechanics-street, Elizabeth																			120	100	102
Swartzwood.....																			50	29	86
Delaware.....																			126	125	120
																			136	126	120

The Fall Conferences have all been tabulated in like manner for three successive years. In them are 5,608 charges, 825 of which show a regular advance each year, and 1,200 show a regular decline; 792 show variation with upward tendency, and 1,784 show variation with downward tendency, and 1,007 cannot be traced; about 150 of these last are new charges; some of them are differently constituted in different years, but the identity of most of them is concealed by change of name in reports without any thing to show by what name they had been previously known.

The Spring Conferences have been thus tabulated for two successive years.

Let this or a similar tabulation proceed; then, from year to year, a striking history will be unrolled, showing the progress of every charge and of every pastor. It will be self-acting in fixing the responsibility of failure where it belongs, and in showing where remedial influences should be applied.

Objections to Graduated Tabulations.

1. "They do not fairly represent the benevolence of the Church. Some churches are doing nobly for Conference claimants, etc., and receive no credit in these tables."

The reply to this is: They were never intended to show the general liberality of any church, but only to show what was done, and, by inference, what ought to be done, for these collections for aggressive evangelical work. They stand on an entirely different basis from all eleemosynary claims. Those are for the body, and these are for many souls. Those are given at the bidding of human sympathy, these by the love we bear to Christ, and by his great command.

2. "They say nothing about the comparative ability of the churches." And in that they are no more objectionable than any other kind of reports, except that they show more clearly and quickly to the eye what ordinary reports reveal only to the careful examiner.

A church known to be poor and taking a respectable position does itself greater honor often than a rich one standing much higher.

3. "They do injustice to churches having large revivals, and having received large accessions, and so having reduced their

average; also to churches raising large sums for payment of debt, or engaged in church or parsonage building, and also to churches passing through seasons of special adversity."

Let an asterisk be placed with the figures of the first class of these churches, pointing to a foot-note saying, "Large accessions;" a dagger to those of the second, with a foot-note saying, "Large amount raised for payment of debt;" a double dagger to the third saying, "Church building," etc. Those connected with a note telling of "Special adversity" would receive none the less honor or sympathy, or perhaps needed help, by showing a brave struggle, like the Macedonian brethren, to give out of their deep poverty abounding to the riches of their liberality.

Those having large revivals, and those conducting church building and debt-paying enterprises, are apt to be among the most efficient of pastors, and those standing by their churches in times of hardship deserve all honor. None of them should have their merits belittled. And to them all the graduated tables may be made to do more complete justice than any ordinary statistical report.

It must be remembered, however, that a revival greatly stimulates a church, and makes it easier to raise generous sums. The collections should have their full share of the prosperity; and when they receive their full share of attention and effort by a superior man with a superior opportunity, the results are sure to show accordingly. Many pastors also tell with glad surprise that a faithful presentation of the collections, asking the people to do what they could in years of heavy financial burdens at home, have resulted in some of the best returns in the history of the charge. In most cases where the collections have suffered greatly through these local enterprises, it is because they were entirely neglected, and the effort intentionally not made.

If the local burden or distress does not prevent the payment of a considerable part of the pastor's salary, it is in order for him to rise and explain the neglect of the collections. If he can do so, his reputation will be as good as his explanation; if not, it ought to be as bad as his record.

The merit of this system of tabulation is that it singles out the delinquent churches and fixes upon their delinquency their own attention, and that of those who are over them in the Lord.

And as the tabulation is repeated and becomes historic, it presents to the eye of the neglectful pastor the part of his record that specially needs improvement, and it points out to the faithful presiding elder the pastors and churches on his district that most likely need encouragement or stimulation, that the interests suffer not in his hands. It also furnishes in compact form the weightiest facts for his use in Quarterly Conference when he seeks to commit the official members to measures of improvement. And it wakens emulation, which is the noblest of the secondary motives, and an appeal to which is warranted by emphatic Pauline precedent.

What Improvement to our Methods can be Suggested?

Many things about them are excellent, and admired by the foremost men of sister denominations. Our connectional system and superintendency gives us the greatest facility for promoting these as well as other general interests. The episcopal connection with the different boards, bringing the broader general knowledge to blend with the specific knowledge of the places represented by the members, enables the boards to give the best information to all who will study their reports. The custom of asking a given amount, and of its apportionment to the Conferences and then to the churches, must commend itself as business-like to all who are anxious to see this business well done. The provision for appointing missionary collectors in every charge cannot be too highly valued, and it should be extended to all the benevolences. These things ought to be sufficient. And they are to many, but to the vast majority of our pastors and people they are as if they were not. And why? Not because of conscious unfaithfulness, but rather because so large a part of the human family, high and low, including a majority of our preachers and most of our people, are creatures of habit and imitation more than of reflection and generalization as to their duties and the interests committed to them. So it comes about that most pastors *construe* all that is published or said or asked of them by what they have been accustomed to do by the habits and customs of their people. Such a clear and strong presentation of these things on their merits, as will not be construed, strikes them as a hyperbole. Then, too, the general habits of surrounding changes form a *vis inertiæ*, hard, indeed,

to be overcome, exerting an influence as constant as the law of gravitation, and giving the greatest advantage to reactionists, and discouragement to the progressive pastor. Yet it takes no more repetitions to establish a good habit than a bad one, and if a habit of reaching every member with an appeal for each benevolence were fixed, with the habit of expecting a proper response, and withal a habit of emulation, such as Paul tried to inculcate among the Greeks, the work could be done easily by all, and would be done constantly by nine tenths of those who now fail. But why have our people not formed better habits? Largely because they have been told what to do, and then have not been called to account for the way of doing their work, or whether it was done at all. Missionary collectors are appointed; nobody asks whether every member has been appealed to, nobody looks after the standard of the contributions, and only a general report of the aggregate is made, which may look well enough to the unthinking.

Each board now acts alone, seeking to make its own impression on the Church. The result is that seven different presentations, each on the theory of its being the one of greatest importance, and made in a way tending to dissipate and confuse the attention, and by mutual neutralization diminish the general impression. They should act as a unit, and so make a cumulative impression. A good way would be for the different secretaries to prepare in concert a circular stating concisely and forcibly the nature and extent of the common obligation, and the vow of each member on joining the Church to contribute thereto according to ability—stating the nature and extent of the work of each, and consequently the extent of the claim—to go with a subscription-card, having a place for each cause, and send this to every charge to be presented to every member of the Church. Then a system of reporting should be devised; this could readily be done by putting it in the order of exercises at the monthly concert for missions. Let the report give the whole number of members, and a fair estimate of the number of friends in the congregation in sympathy with these things. After saying that cards and circulars have been sent to every one, report the number of responses, with the grade of each contribution, classed by amounts: and finally the amount resulting to each benevolence, and how much it

averages per member for the Church. This will bring out speeches from the best friends of the benevolences, and suggest the way for securing responses from others before the next meeting. Each coming report will waken curiosity and interest, and tend to the formation of systematic and generous habits of giving. The number of contributors should be reported to the Annual Conference, classed under different standards. The Newark Conference adopted a system of standards as shown in the following form of the report required:

.....DISTRICT.....CHARGE.

	No. of Contributors.	Amount.
Below Minimum Standard (65 cents)	....	$.....
Minimum Standard and all others between 65 cents and $1 30	....	$.....
Average Standard ($1 30) and all others between $1 30 and $2 60	....	$.....
Higher Standard ($2 60)	....	$.....
Special Contributions (above $2 60)	....	$.....
Total amount given to the seven collections		$.....
Total membership		.....

.....*Pastor.*

These reports to the Conferences should be tabulated so as to show the degree of progress toward a proper contribution from every member in every part of the Church, and where efforts at improvement is most needed.

It is surprising what an effect reiterated reports will have on the habits when systematically made and brought home to those concerned.

It is as important to establish a system of minima as to get a contribution from every one. Every pastor who so presents the benevolences as to produce conviction has many a one coming to him and asking, "How much do you think I ought to give to this cause?" The average pastor would reply, "Give all you can," which adds nothing to the inquirer's information, and is interpreted, on the one hand, by a poor laborer to mean five dollars, and on the other, by a man ten times as able, to mean twenty-five cents. If, instead of saying, "Give all you can," the pastor should say, "Take 65 cents for your minimum if you are very poor, $1 30 if you have the ability of a common laborer of ordinary prosperity, $2 60 if you have the ability of the average mechanic, or if you are better off give such sum

will proportionately correspond to your means, provided you can to give the lowest admissible sum; but I want my people give liberally, and not the lowest admissible sum, and if you ant to give liberally do not give less than one per cent. of ur income." A pastor who will thus instruct his people, and ow his sympathy with them and with his subject by adding their offerings two per cent. of his own income, can soon ve them doing full justice to all these benevolences and p certainly within the bounds of moderation.

The missionary cause, which has about a two thirds interest the claim of the seven collections combined, would be much gainer by admitting a report on the other six at every onthly concert, and the meeting itself would be made more eresting and effective. A season of special prayer for God's ssing on the offerings and on the work contributed to, ould always constitute a prominent part of the exercises.

Thus a little change in our system, introduced and improved experience, would not be many years in adding another illion to present receipts, and calling out the prayers of the urch for the work with tenfold the present power.

Then could we enter and occupy, more nearly as we should, e mighty and opening West, the needy but rising South, d the whitening harvest of the world.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, January, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.) 1. On the Interpretation of the Early Mythologies of Greece and India; by F. G. Fleay, A.M. 2. Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language; by Horatio Hale. 3. Native Races of Colombia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 4. Ancient Village Architecture in America—Indian and Mound Builders' Villages; by S. D. Peet, editor. 5. Description of an Ancient Aztec Town in New Mexico; by W. H. A. Reed. 6. Specimen of the Chumeto Language; by Albert S. Gatschet. 7. Mound Joliet; by O. H. Marshall.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1883. (Andover.)—1. Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch; by Rev. Edwin C. Bissell, D.D. 2. The Conception Ἐκκλησία in the New Testament; by Prof. E. Benj. Andrews. 3. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 4. The Argument from Christian Experience for the Inspiration of the Bible; by Rev. Frank H. Foster, Ph.D. 5. On some Textual Questions in the Gospel of John; by Henry Hayman, D.D. 6. The School-Life of Walafried Strabo; translated by Prof. J. D. Butler, Ph.D. 7. Some Notes on recent Catacomb Research and its Literature; by Rev. Prof. Scott.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January. 1883. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Worldliness in the Church; by J. T. Toof. 2. The Distinctive Peculiarities of the Disciples; by J. Z. Tyler. 3. The Foreknowledge of God; by John Tomline Walker. 4. God Every-where; by G. R. Hand. 5. A Duty of Christian Parents; by J. W. Ellis. 6. The Philosophy of Pain—Hell; by Thomas Munnell. 7. Creation and Evolution; by G. T. Carpenter. 8. Will Morality Secure Eternal Life? by George E. Dew. 9. A Kingdom That Cannot be Moved; by H. Christopher.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, January, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Arguments for the Being of God; by Prof. George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 2. Christianity and Social Science; by Washington Gladden, D.D. 3. Revelation; by Prof. George T. Ladd. D.D. 4. The Incarnation and Modern Thought; by A. J. F. Behrends, D.D. 5. Mind and Matter, their Immediate Relation; by President John Bascom, D.D., LL.D. 6. The Spiritual Life, a Fact and a Testimony; by Giles H. Mandeville, D.D. 7. Proceedings of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1883. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Rise of the Episcopate; a translation from Dr. Heinrich Schmid's "Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte;" by Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D. 2. The Law of Burial and of Burial Grounds; by Rev. William Hull. 3. How to Develop and Direct the Benevolence of the Church; by Rev. George Scholl, A.M. 4. The Question of Primitive Monotheism; by M. Valentine, D.D. 5. The Length of Our Saviour's Public Ministry According to the Gospel of St. John; by Rev. J. C. Jacoby, A.M. 6. What Are the Qualifications Necessary to Church Membership? by Rev. F. D. Weigle, A.M. 7. Christ and the Conscience; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D. 8. The Liturgical Question; by Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, March, 1883. (New Haven.)—1. Goethe's Ethical Sayings in Prose; by Prof. R. B. Richardson, Ph.D. 2. Voices from the Spirit-Realm; by Dr. Robert Friese, Leipsic, 1879; translated by Rev. J. B. Chase. 3. The Importance of Experimental Research in Mechanical Science; by Prof. W. P. Trowbridge. 4. The Plan of Paradise Lost; by Prof. John A. Himes. 5. The Human Mind. 6. Recent Infidelity: Its Extent and Remedies; by Rev. D. P. Harris. 7. The Bible as a Book of Education; by Prof. H. M. Goodwin.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Teaching of Our Lord Regarding the Sabbath, and its Bearing on Christian Work; by Rev. George Patterson, D.D. 2. The Separation of Church and State in Virginia; by Rev. J. Harris Patton, A.M. 3. The Revised Book of Discipline; by Rev. Elijah R. Craven, D.D. 4. A Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, with Special Reference to the Pentateuch; by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D. 5. Darwinism and the Dakota Group; by Rev. William J. Harsha, M.A. 6. John Henry Newman and the Oxford Revival; by Prof. Archibald Alexander, Ph.D.

PRINCETON REVIEW, March, 1883. (New York.)—1. The Utah Problem; by Henry Randall Waite. 2. A New Experiment in Education; by Prof. Felix Adler. 3. St. Paul; by Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Hidden Hope; by the late Prof. Tayler Lewis, L.H.D. 5. Convict Labor and the Labor Reformers; by Hon. A. S. Meyrick. 6. American Manufactures; by Francis A. Walker, LL.D. 7. The Antagonisms Between Hinduism and Christianity; by Samuel H. Kellogg, D.D.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Scripture Exposition; by O. D. Miller, D.D. 2. Drifts in Religious Thought; by Rev. H. I. Cushman. 3. The Necessity of a Change in the Language of Our Creed; by Rev. F. A. Sweetser, D.D. 4. The Attractive and Triumphant Cross; by A. J. Patterson, D.D. 5. A New System of Philosophy; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 6. The Catacombs of Rome: Their Teachings of Doctrine, Ritual, etc., (Part Third); by Rev. A. B. Grosh. 7. True and False Ideas of Holiness; by Rev. A. G. Rogers.

English Reviews.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1883. (London.)—1. The Social Science Association. 2. The Relation of Kant to Speculative Philosophy. 3. Charity in the Early Church. 4. William Law. 5. Recent French Historical Literature. 6. Egypt. 7. Evolutionary Ethics. 8. The Doctrine of the Spirit in the Corinthian Epistles.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1883. (New York.)—1. Archbishop Tait and the Primacy. 2. Progress and Poverty. 3. Private Life of Cardinal Mazarin. 4. Pawnbroking. 5. Sir Archibald Alison's Autobiography. 6. Corea. 7. American Novels. 8. Was the Egyptian War Necessary? 9. The True Position of Parties.

Indian Evangelical Review, January, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. The Education of the Aborigines; by Rev. A. Campbell. 2. The Bengali Mussulmans and Christian Effort among them; by Rev. H. Williams, C.M.S. 3. Mussulman-Bengali. 4. The State of Hinduism at the Rise of Buddhism; by the Editor. 5. A Lady's Testimony to the Fiji Mission; by Prof. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. 6. The Education of the Aborigines.—II; by Rev. A. Campbell. 7. Muhammad Missari on Sufiism, with Introductory Note; by Rev. E. M. Wherry. 8. Missionary Reminiscences of 1882; by the Editor. 9. The Mission Work: Principles and Methods; by Rev. W. W. Howland.

German Reviews.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. Prof. A. Dorner, of Wittenberg, The Nature of Religion. 2. Ryssel, A Letter of George, Bishop of the Arabians, to the Presbyter, Jesus. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. Grimm, Luther's Translation of the Old Testament Apocryphas. 2. Usteri. The Original of the Marburg Articles in Fac-simile, rediscovered in the State Archives at Zurich. *Reviews:* 1. Lechler. *Analecta ad Fratrum Minorum Historiam.* 2. Felice. Lambert Daneau, His Life, Works, and Unpublished Letters; reviewed by Eberard. 3. Stade, Journal for Old Testament Science; reviewed by Smend. *Miscellanea:* 1. Programme for the Society of the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion for the year 1882. 2. Programme of the Tyler Theological Society in Harlem for the year 1883.

Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Theodore Brieger. Vol. 5. Fourth Number. 1883. Investigations and Essays. 1. Heidenheimer. Correspondence of Sultan Bajazet II. with Pope Alexander VI. 2. Brieger. Complement to the History of the Reformation from Italian Archives and Libraries. *Analecta:* 1. Loofs, The Surname of the Apostle of the Germans, together with a Communication concerning Boniface. 2. *Miscellanea*, by Rohricht, Koch, and Karl Müller.

The first article in the "Theological Essays," by Prof. A. Dorner, of Wittenberg, on the "Nature of Religion," is in two divisions—a critical one, treating of the various views entertained at the present time, and a second one, which presents the leading traits of the "Nature of Religion" as the results

of the critical investigation. The article is very long and exhaustive, extending over sixty pages, and quotes scores of authorities from German Theologians and English Philosophers. It deals chiefly with the philosophical and religious methods of the present time, and reduces these mainly to four, namely, the historical, psychological, speculative-genetic, and the speculative-critical; and claims that, in general, the Nature of Religion is to be found in the sum of the results obtained from a thorough investigation of all these phases.

Professor Grimm, of the Theological Faculty of Jena, and a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Bible of Luther, gives us his views, in the article on "Luther's Translation of the Apocryphas," as to the mode followed by the great German reformer. Grimm maintains that in this work Luther did not consider it wise or necessary to follow the text as closely as in the translation of the canonical books. He therefore, at times, assumed the rôle of the editor, critic, or exegete, because he hoped in this way to make the reading of these books more acceptable to the masses of the people, and also more intelligible. The author declares that Luther, in this view of his work, did not follow the Vulgate in all the books. Indeed, to some of them he distinctly gave the explanation that they were taken from the Greek, but seems in places to have followed the Vulgate as a species of commentary.

Dr. Brieger, of the "Journal for Church History," treats his readers to an interesting article on his zealous efforts to learn all he could concerning the Reformation from Italian archives—certainly a new and valuable source of information. For this purpose he left his post and spent some eight months in finding out all the sources of information that he could command. His main object was to increase the knowledge regarding the epoch of Paul III., by unsealing fountains that had hitherto been inaccessible. In this laudable endeavor he alludes to the friendly reception that he received from the directors of nearly all the libraries that he visited, although many of them could not have had much sympathy with the investigations of a Protestant theologian. Through this courtesy he was enabled to collect and arrange much material into large groups tending in different directions, which he hopes, later, to examine closely and compare, confident that he will be thus in a

condition to add much valuable and reliable information to the History of the Reformation. He cannot, of course, give all this material in the pages of a journal, although a goodly number of the documents are given in the original Italian. He acknowledges that this article is but a scheme and forerunner to a more extensive treatise that may assume the proportions of a book.

Some of the letters and dispatches that he presents fill up gaps in new material, recently obtained, regarding Contarini, and already given in the columns of the Journal. In 1879, Victor Schultze presented some communications that he had obtained from the archives of Naples, making a fortunate beginning for this work, in which Brieger takes so deep an interest. In 1880, Ludwig Pastor obtained a series of important dispatches of Contarini's from the archives of the Vatican; and Dietrich, in 1881, in his "Labors and Letters of Cardinal Contarini," collected a mass of useful material to this end. This was effected through a systematic examination of the archives and libraries of Venice, Milan, Treviso, Florence, Siena, Rome, and Naples. The great value of this new matter will be the opportunity offered by it to distinguish the Catholic from the Protestant sense of many of the proceedings in regard to Luther. The number of original Latin and Italian documents obtained by Brieger is quite large, and will see the light of day in Germany for the first time, and will, of course, be matters of great interest to that school of German theologians who seem inclined to spend their days in the study of Luther.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne. (Christian Review.) November, 1882.—1. Sabatier, Laical Religion. 2. Puaux, Journey in Scandinavia. 3. E. de Pressensé, The Rôle of the Will in Knowledge. 4. Alone, Bibliographical Bulletin. 5. Literary Notices by Mouchon. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

December, 1882.—1. Godet, The Life of Jesus, by Bernhard Weiss. 2. Causse, The Sunday-School. 3. Bridel, Philosophical Chronicle. 4. Sabatier, Literary Chronicle. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

January, 1883.—1. E. de Pressensé, A New Appreciation of Vinet. 2. Naville, The Liberty of Religious Associations. 3. Lelièvre, The Huguenot Psalter. 4. Nègard, English Chronicle. Review of the Month by Pressensé.

The leading spirit of the *Revue* is decidedly Pressensé, as will be seen from the part which he takes in the above summary.

In the December number he makes a new appeal to his public for support, and, certainly, if a live editor is a desirable possession, he is deserving of a hearty indorsement, morally and pecuniarily. Like every other editor, he promises to do better in the future than in the past, and proposes to devote more time to the defense of his creed and Church, while continuing to follow all movements in religion, literature, and philosophy, both at home and abroad.

The distinguishing characteristic of the *Revue* is to treat of the questions of the hour, and in this sense we refer with pleasure to the article on the Sunday-school, by Causse, in the December number. It seems that the Protestant revival throughout Europe is turning the attention of all of its sincere followers toward the Sunday-school. Christian parents have long felt a want for some more decided religious training than has been hitherto imparted in the secular schools; and now, since in these religious teaching is being so largely dropped, the cry is loudly going forth for some means of reaching the children. In this dilemma, French Christians—Protestant, of course—do not hesitate to name this a national question *par excellence.*

They acknowledge that the future of Protestantism is involved in this great question of the religious training of youth, and declare that the battle of unbelief with faith must be mainly fought out among the children; and the victory will be with those who shall succeed in possessing them. "We must arm ourselves in order to surround, to secure, and protect our children. For us this is a question of faith and of patriotism. our Christian children will make Christian families; our Christian families will make Christian Churches; and this latter, in its turn, will make the Christian country—a great and difficult task, but a beautiful and glorious one."

But the Reformed Church of France finds that it suddenly has a very difficult task on its hands; because it has so long intrusted the religious education of the young to the ordinary secular schools. The teachers in these have, for the most part, been wholly unequal to so great and delicate a task; and the mass of the children of their churches have thus grown up in a deplorable ignorance of their religious faith. And they have little better to expect, for a time, in the Sunday-school; because

of the almost total lack of teachers and appurtenances for this new work. In the few Sunday-schools hitherto established the numbers have been deplorably small, and the children have learned but little of the true spirit of religion. The Bible has been for them still a closed book, and the four or five years of their Sunday-schools have given them but little solid religious instruction.

The author of this article, therefore, demands that they begin the Sunday-school *ab ovo*, with direct reference to all its needs. Firstly, that it must be really a school in spirit as in name; that is, there must be a regular course of Bible study, proceeding with a curriculum that shall culminate in a fair and systematic course of popular Bible knowledge. And in this work the Bible must be the text-book in preference to any other. "It is of the highest importance that our children have the Bible in their hands. They must learn how to use it, to handle it, to understand it." This ignorance is declared to be one great lack of the Protestant population of France; and the Sunday-school will be a blessing if it can fill up the dangerous chasm.

But how supply the great want of teachers? They reply: The weight of this new task must first fall on the pastors, and they will probably need to make an apprenticeship to the work in order to execute it. They have been taught to teach the parents only; they must now direct their efforts toward the new mission to childhood. It will be necessary that the theological schools teach them to teach the little ones in the Sunday-school as they are now taught how to make a sermon. Thus trained, the young pastors must make it their first duty to establish in their churches normal schools for the training of teachers for these Sunday-schools. The French have an apt proverb which says, that a lesson comprehended is a lesson half learned. We submit that they seem to know their wants, and to have a pretty fair appreciation of the way out of their difficulties; which is truly, in our way of expressing it, half the battle. That they will have to encounter many difficulties is very certain; but it is a good sign that, instead of complaining about the situation, they are calling on all their forces to marshal hopefully in battle against the evil that confronts them.

Naville's article, in the January number, on the "Liberty of

Religious Associations," is an extremely timely essay to the Protestant world of France, which has found no little trouble, at times, to secure the right of assembling for religious objects and organization, or the liberty to join such bodies. Even the pastor of the American Chapel in Paris, under the present *régime*, has been annoyed and interfered with in an endeavor to have his people assemble at his house, for a conference of prayer or song. Had he invited them to a noisy dancing-party no objections would have been urged. The claim of the Reformers, as they are called in France, therefore, for interior liberty, or the autonomy of their societies, and especially for the right to determine the conditions on which persons may enter or leave their associations, is based on the clearest principles of religious freedom. A church should certainly possess the right of admission or exclusion of its participants or members, else it is at the mercy of incongruous elements that might force themselves into it, and finally take possession of the organization. It should have also the right of fixing the rule of its teaching and its discipline.

Naville would draw a clear distinction between the churches that are under the rule of the Concordat, and therefore of the State also in the religious systems, and the churches that are simply instituted by the State, and subsidized by it. A so-called "Concordate church" is a society that has entered into a convention or treaty with the State. On the one hand, certain edifices are granted to the religious community, and salaries are paid from the State budget to its ministers or priests; for which reason the Church consents that its functionaries may be indorsed by the government, and that its public acts may be under a certain control. But the Protestant Church of France has no such convention with the State, and, therefore, would resent State interference with its interior organization and usages. The negation of this right of these Churches has of late years been shown with a certain degree of publicity and austerity that has caused considerable commotion. The Synod of the Reformed Churches, held in 1872 and 1873, imposed certain conditions for entrance and continuance within their lines. But, after lengthy conferences with the State officials, these acts of the Synod were annulled by a decree of the Council of State. This Council declares that no change

can take place in the discipline of the Reformed Churches without the authorization of the government. At a later period a circular of the Minister of Public Worship affirmed that the very principle on which the Reformed Church is based subjects it to fluctuations of doctrine. Therefore, it is the political authority which shall at its will declare what are the doctrinal bases of these Churches. But if a society cannot determine its own conditions for membership, it is very evident that its liberty, and perhaps its very existence, are gone. If every citizen has a right to become a member of these Churches by the expression of his will or interest, without any condition of adhesion to its doctrine, the Church itself might as well close its doors. Against this great injustice the author of this article is waging a bold fight, and he illustrates and strengthens his position by various examples from the Protestant Churches of Switzerland and other nations. We need scarcely add that the orthodox Reformers are heartily with him; while the liberals and free-thinkers within the Church would like to stay there, and get and retain possession, by virtue of this decision of the State Council, which is certainly most absurd and unjust.

"The Huguenot Psalter" is an article of great interest, and full of instruction regarding the famous old hymns sung by the persecuted amid their oppression. Apart from the Bible, no work among them has had a more glorious history. Its words and very melodies have grown out of their sufferings and hopes and faith; and one can scarcely believe that the French tongue could lend itself to accents so pathetic and devout. The complete Psalter first appeared in the year 1562; and Catharine de Medici, in the hope of conciliating the Huguenot party, permitted it to be printed in no less than eleven editions in France, of which seven appeared in Paris. In the course of four years no less than sixty-two editions appeared in French in various countries; and it is now known that it has been translated into twenty-two foreign languages. With such popularity it soon became a dangerous weapon in the mouths of the Reformers, and was as good a battle-cry as they could utter. Even Henry IV., when he renounced Protestantism, entertained a wholesome fear of the effect of its hymns. He had permitted his sister, Catharine of Navarre, to hold

Reformed worship in his palace of the Louvre, on condition that they would abstain from singing. One day his sister was detayed in a conference with the king, when the company began to sing to drown the tediousness of delay. The king, hearing a noise, asked the cause of it; and on being informed, he abruptly said to his sister: "*Mon Dieu*, go quickly and tell them to stop singing!"

Under the *régime* of the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants of Paris were accustomed to assemble at Charenton for worship. Every Sunday the road to this place was crowded with men, women, and children, in vehicles and on foot, going to church and singing their hymns on the way. This so annoyed the authorities that they forbade the singing of hymns in public places; and in proportion as the famous Revocation approached, this raid on the Huguenot hymns increased. In 1663 a pastor of Nimes was banished for having published a treatise on the singing of the Psalms; while the printer was also punished for two years, and the book itself was condemned to be burned. And thus the persecution of the Psalter went on, until at last it was almost at the risk of life that spiritual hymns could be sung. This very repression made the Psalter still more dear; and the comfort that it has afforded to thousands, amid persecution and adversity, has given it a rank right beside the Bible. This article will be widely read by the descendants of the Huguenots.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

French publicists have been pretty severe on the Germans for their treatment of the Jews in later years; and they and the Spaniards were quite generous in their offers toward the Russian Jews who recently left their homes in such large numbers, and came mainly to this country in preference to Palestine, France, or Spain. The Germans naturally reply that these critics would be more consistent if they practically knew more about the matter. Two centuries ago the Jews were driven out of Spain under circumstances of great cruelty, and a few months ago the first Jewish marriage took place in Spain for all this long period. At

The French themselves have scarcely any Jews within their boundaries; certainly for some pretty good reason.

While in Germany there are about 600,000, making one to every seventy-five inhabitants, there are in France only 65,000, or one to every 600 souls. The Hebrew population in France is found scarcely anywhere else than in a few of the large cities. Paris alone counts 35,000; more than in all the provinces together. Jewish synagogues are found only in Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, Besançon, Bayonne, and a few other cities. In many commercial centers, counting from 30,000 to 50,000, there will be found but a few isolated Jewish families. In four of the departments there is not a single Israelite; while in some twenty there are not more than a few hundred. But a very small portion settled in France before the nineteenth century. All the others came since 1830 from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Russia, and Turkey. Some came with millions, as the Rothschilds, Goldschmidts, Erlangers, and Oppenheims, and these have all increased their millions in France. Outside of these extremely rich Jews the greater number of the Parisian Jews are poor, and find it a struggle to secure a decent livelihood. The Frenchman is a good business man, and quite expert in making a sale on fair business principles; there is here, therefore, no room for bickering or bargaining; and for any deceptive transactions, especially in money matters, he is not much inclined. To the poorer class of Jews there is, therefore, nothing left ordinarily but the trade in ribbons, thread, and other small variety wares. Even the trade in old clothes, which elsewhere is exclusively in the hands of the Jews, is in Paris mostly monopolized by emigrant Frenchmen from the Province of Auvergne. There are a goodly number of Jews in the law, and in the civil and military service. There are Jewish prefects, cabinet ministers occasionally, quite a number of Jewish generals, and a large number of deputies to the Chambers. In industrial life the Jews have by no means the position which they hold in Germany. Their influence is all-controlling only at the Exchange; some of the largest banking and stock-dealing establishments and most of the railroad corporations have none. Consequently, they are not such a thorn in the side of the Frenchman as they seem to be in that of the German.

LIBRARY OF THE ITALIAN REFORMATION.

We notice with pleasure that the Italians themselves have begun a work that has been successfully pursued for some time in France and Spain; namely, a new publication of all the evangelical writings from the period of the Reformation. It is to be hoped that this admirable enterprise will receive an active support that will end in its consummation. In the year 1531 there issued from a cloister on the banks of Lago Maggiore, from the pen of a Carmelite monk, a circular to the entire Christian Church of Germany, in which we find the words: "Think, dear brethren in the faith, of the humble Canaanitish woman who begged for the crumbs that fell from the table of the Lord. Thus I, while thirsting,

take refuge in the Source of living waters; surrounded by darkness, sighing in tears, I beseech you, who know the secrets of God, send us the writings of your chosen teachers. Deliver a Lombardian city from the Babylonian captivity. There are three of us here; but who knows whether God will not from a small spark cause a great burning?"

This pious monk could scarcely imagine that from his own country there would spring forth an echo of his words. And yet the movement of the Reformation, even in Italy, in twenty years from that time, had become so strong, spreading even to the spiritually elevated classes, that an entire literature of testimonies of evangelical faith and life had risen into prominence. But the Inquisition had with only too great effect nipped the buds of the movement in the beginning, and thus destroyed the fruit. Whole editions of devotional books were destroyed by its order, and in Rome piles of such books were burned. But by the providence of God many single copies were rescued from the general destruction, and they are discovered anew hidden in archives and libraries. These are not to disappear entirely, and it is the duty of evangelical Christianity to rescue them. From these the new Protestant communities of the Italy of to-day may draw native material for study and devotional instruction and encouragement. This important enterprise is to be under the direction of Professor Comba, of Florence, aided by colleagues in Venice, Padua, and Rome, and some even from France and Germany. They are to be printed in Florence, and sold at a very low price so as to put them within reach of all. About eight or nine works are now already announced, of which the first is "A Simple Declaration of the Twelve Articles of Christian Faith." An appeal is being made to the Protestants of Europe to help this worthy enterprise by a generous purchase of these issues.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF FRANCE.

The French Reformed Church, as well as the French Lutheran, is now suffering under the pressure of contemporary events. They both have to bear the burden of the exclusion of religious teaching from the schools, and are obliged to provide for it themselves or do without it. There are those among them who accept willingly this new school law, but their labors in the Church are negative rather than positive. The extreme liberalism, which has such a foothold legally within the bosom of the Churches, is causing them much anxiety. In the Theological Faculty of Paris there are some faithful and immovable teachers of the Word, but even there we see an effort on the part of some to produce discord by unsound teaching. Maurice Vernes, of this body, who lately delivered an address, at the opening of the annual studies, contradicting the common received ideas of the soul and immortality, was obliged to withdraw as a teacher; but his influence is left behind him. There is doubtless existing in the Reformed Church of France a noble inheritance and a solid power of active faith, as is proved by their eager work in

evangelization of the masses; but they are doomed to encounter discouraging obstacles. The record of the year last past amply attests this. In the Lutheran Church the injuries caused by the war of 1870 are not yet overcome; pastors were driven away from their flocks; congregations were scattered; and church property and soil virtually destroyed. These Lutherans, in various unions and conferences, have appealed to their brothers in Germany for help. The two Provincial Synods, recently held in Paris and Mompelgard, were mainly occupied with the troublesome school question, bemoaning the fact that the name of God is excluded from the schools with no power on their part to repair the wound. They now find hope in the fact that there has lately been a revulsion of feeling among notable Republicans regarding the religious question, and that an evident disposition is growing to treat it with more tenderness and consideration. The President and some prefects and ministers of state are counseling less severe measures, and the last budget for Public Worship was sustained by some of those who had hitherto opposed it. The death of the great dictator in this matter may cause a change of policy, and the fierce struggles of the political factions induce the opponents of religion to cease their efforts to strike all religious organizations. The Lutherans seem to be even more helpless than the Reformed Church without aid from the State.

THE LATEST FROM PALESTINE.

The "Journal of the German Palestine Association," under the effective control of Dr. Guthes, is doing fine work in the matter of revelations of very general interest. The fourth volume has recently appeared, and from it we gather some curious information. For a series of years there have been found in the vicinity of Jerusalem small sarcophagi of limestone, whose significance has been a mystery. They are about thirty inches in length and fourteen in breadth. To what purpose have these small coffins been appropriated? They can scarcely have been cinerary receptacles; for neither the Jews nor the Christians practiced cremation. The opinion has been broached that they contain the remains of the martyrs; for they are far too small for an ordinary unmutilated corpse. A high authority is of the opinion that these miniature coffins are for the reception of the remnants of bodies taken up from graves and transported to other places, because in these cases corpses were sometimes transported from abroad. This is made probable from the fact that in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem they are most numerous, and some of them contain Greek inscriptions. A burial in Jerusalem was the most ardent desire of the Jews living in other countries; and in the Middle Ages there were very many of such transports to the Holy Land. Old Jews would go there simply to die. These little sarcophagi, therefore, probably contained the bones of those who could not go in the body, as the Chinese send home the bones of their dead to lie in their natal soil.

A professional architect in the interest of this Association, living permanently in Jerusalem, gives some curious details as to the number of inhabitants of ancient Jerusalem. In his study of the outlines of the city, the mode of building, and the size of the houses, and also the historical traditions, he concludes that ancient Jerusalem, at the time of Titus, had a circumference of thirty-three stadia, and not less than 250,000 inhabitants.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The "Roman Catholic Directory" for England and Scotland, for 1883, issued under the control of Cardinal Manning, and therefore reliable, gives us some very startling figures. In England and Wales there are seventeen Romish bishops and 2,112 priests, who labor in 1,888 churches chapels, and mission-stations. Scotland has six bishops and 306 priests who have charge of 295 chapels. The English bishops are divided into one archbishop, six suffragan bishops, and two assistant bishops. Scotland has two archbishops and four suffragans, and either no congregations or very unimportant ones. A comparison with this directory and that of 1850 shows that the statistics are nearly doubled in the present one. In the House of Lords there are now twenty-nine Roman Catholic peers with seats and votes, and the privy-council of the Queen contains four Roman Catholic members; while in the nobility of the land there are forty-seven baronets who are Catholics. There are no statistics given of the growth of Roman Catholicism in the middle classes; it seems to be only among the higher ranks that High-Churchism and Catholicism have become fashionable.

The "German Review" gives quite an interesting account of the status of the German universities at the close of the year 1882. The attendance is increasing quite out of proportion to the increase of the population. The number of students in the summer semester of 1872 was 15,113; but in 1882 it was 23,834—in ten years an increase of 57 per cent. This the Germans regard as alarming, because there is no such increased need of trained men, and the supply will therefore be much greater than the demand. An official warning has gone forth in the German Empire against the over-production of lawyers. But the greatest increase is in the philosophical faculty, including all branches not absorbed by the theological, judicial, and medical studies; and the increase is found mainly in the ten Prussian universities. The ratio of increase has been about even in the medical and theological faculties. For a series of years there was a decrease here, but for the last five years there has been quite an increase. In the entire decade the theologians have made an increase of 39 per cent. in the Protestant faculties. In the faculties of Catholic theology there has been a constant decrease in the last

decade; in the seven German universities that have Catholic faculties this has reached about 20 per cent.

The seventh issue of the "Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities," by Kraus, which is just out, contains several articles of interest on Christian Archæology, though they are evidently tinged with the Catholic views of the author. A very valuable new work in the same line from a Protestant source is "The Catacombs, their History and their Monuments," by the well-known Dr. Victor Schultze, which has just appeared in Leipsic. From the circumstance that Catholic theologians, mainly, such as Kraus and De Rossi, have had the matter of the catacombs mostly in their hands, it has become a sort of tradition to construe what they find with a Romish tendency. This has in some measure been counteracted by Schultze's work, entitled "Archæological Studies concerning Ancient Christian Monuments," published some two years ago. But Schultze has spent several years in Italy, engaged in diligent work in the Sicilian catacombs, which has enabled him in many instances to give an entirely free and independent judgment. This author has taken very special pains to examine the significance of these relics in their social, political, intellectual, and ethical bearing.

Professor Victor Schultze writes in the highest terms of the Archæological collection of the University of Leipsic, especially with a view to the study of Christian history. Many of the objects are in copies, for the purpose of academic illustration in teaching. This idea was first broached by Dr. Piper, in Berlin, and then extended to Leipsic. The example has lately been followed by Professor Kraus of Strasburg. This famous Leipsic collection was begun by Professor Brockhaus, in accordance with a resolution of the Ministry of Worship, in 1876, and had made fair progress before his death in 1877. The earlier collections were mainly of objects illustrating the Middle Ages, and the collection was to be not so much a museum as an archæologic apparatus for the illustration of study. Its present condition makes quite an additional attraction for theological students at that vigorous and active university.

Ancient Hebrew poetry has been subjected to a close scrutiny as regards its artistic form, by Professor Bickell, a very learned author in all that relates to Syriac and Hebrew literature. He is a wanderer from his mother Church over into the Roman Catholic fold, and now laboring in that stronghold of the Church, the quaint old town of Innspruck in the Tyrol. He has just published a Latin work, entitled "*Carmina veteris Testamenti metrice*," in which the Psalter, the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations, Proverbs, and the Book of Job receive particular attention as to their metrical disposition. This work, and his recent "Poetry of the Hebrews," will attract the attention of biblical scholars.

The famous Catholic Lexicon of Wetzer and Welte, that a few years ago made such a stir in the Ultramontane world, has now appeared in a new and much enlarged edition. It of course keeps up its ultra-Romish

character, and makes some queer work of the *Old Catholics*, the "Anti-christ," and the "Reformers," and it is worthy of the attention of Protestant scholars, in order to let them see how the *Mother Church* regards some of their heroes and tenets. In the article on the "Augsburg Confession," it is extremely mild and peaceful, and condescends to say That the few deviations from the old doctrines are so vague and general that a mutual understanding ought not to be difficult. But the author wanders a good deal when he speaks of the reticence of Melanchthon in regard to the Confession of Faith; and he is quite out of the way in the affirmation that only the orthodox and the old Lutherans still cling to the Augsburg Confession, or simply maintain it officially while going over to the common faith of the Protestant people. It is natural to expect that a Catholic lexicon should place all the errors of the Catholic Church in the best light; but we suggest whether it is not going too far, as in the article on "The Apostolate and Episcopate," to affirm in the Apostolate, in order to justify it in the Episcopate, such attributes as the following: Universality, unlimited power, infallibility, and the primacy of Peter as a lasting office.

A deputy in the Prussian Diet lately complained, in a pamphlet entitled "*Canossa*," of the use, in many of the seminaries for the training of priests, of the text-book of the French Jesuit, Gury, justifying the crimes of perjury, robbery, adultery, and the falsification of documents, and demanded that it should be expelled from these schools. A Catholic journal demanded in a formal manner that the deputy should give the passages alluded to, with page and paragraph. This the deputy does, with a literal translation from the work in question, together with the original Latin. He adds all sorts of polemical spice to the detailed quotations, and every impartial reader cannot fail to see that he maintains his points. The title of his little book is as follows: "Where in the Manual of Moral Theology, by the Jesuit, Gury, are robbery, falsification of documents, adultery, and perjury declared to be allowable?" The book is for sale for a shilling, so as to meet the popular demand, and is likely to make a *furore* in the fatherland.

"Walcker's Manual of National Economy" appears in stately style, in Leipsic, in the first volume of five hundred pages, and promises three more volumes to be finished in 1888. It undertakes to treat the Christian idea as well as the politico-economical, and does this with far more vigor than good sense. The author seems to dislike orthodox Protestantism quite as badly as genuine Ultramontanism, and suggests that a commission be formed of theologians, teachers of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, historians, and national economists, in order to place all the arguments of both sides in a convenient form. He also gives a very thorough presentation of the Jewish question, in which he declares the emancipation of the Jews to be complete in Germany, and thinks it now time to secure the emancipation of the Christians. But in this he follows the footsteps of the learned Mommsen, who would effect this

emancipation in the way of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. It is, of course, simply ridiculous to suppose that any such measure would be made popular and acceptable, and it certainly could not be forced on any community, simply if for no other reason than that people generally like to make such bargains themselves, and could not be induced to do so by any fantastical politico-economists.

The fourth centennial of Luther's birth, which occurs this year, is occupying the minds of German scholars and historians; and besides many other good and proper things, arrangements are being made for a complete edition of Luther's works as a national monument, for this would be quite as much so as the Cathedral of Cologne. This work is to be done by a commission sustained by the generous hand of the German emperor, and supported by the Ministry of Public Worship. To this commission belong three members of the Academy, the Germanist Müllenhof, the historian Waitz, and the theologian Weiss as representative of the ministry. The work will be published in Weimar, under ministerial sanction. Three volumes will be published yearly, of about four hundred pages, and the price will be made as moderate as possible, to make a large circulation easy. It will take from ten to twelve years to finish the work, and already an appeal for subscriptions in advance is being made to patriots, scholars, and Christian theologians. It will be considered a matter of honor for all public libraries to patronize the work, and a duty and a pleasure to have it in the libraries of churches and schools.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Dorner on the Future State. Being a translation of the Section of his System of Christian Doctrine comprising the Doctrine of the Last Things. With an Introduction and Notes by Newman Smyth, Author of "Orthodox Theology of Today," etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. 16mo, pp. 155.

The purpose of the present volume seems to be to bring the high authority of Dorner before us to justify the speculation of a *post-mortem* probation. In noticing, in a former Quarterly, Dorner's third volume, we called attention to this peculiarity of his Eschatology, specifying at the same time that he relieved the notion from its worst aspect by applying it only, or mainly, to those beyond the reach of the Gospel message. So held, not as a dogma to be imposed on the Church, but as a hypothesis relieving to the mind of the individual, the notion need create no great commotion. Similarly, the personal suggestion of Rev. Joseph Cook, that there may be cases of eminently conscientious men

whose souls are quickened into a living faith at the moment of transition from time to eternity, may be a conception that one might adopt as a relieving hope. There are eminently conscientious governed men outside the Church whose rectitude of life often shames the members of the Church, skeptics, it may be, yet comparatively ruled by right, upon whom it seems difficult to pronounce the doom of eternal misery. What shall we say to the of such men? The great Doctor of the Roman Church, Thomas Aquinas, would say: Heaven is the vision of God to which the pure in heart through Christ are alone admitted; while outside the divine vision are varied regions of happiness, which is not *blessedness*, where the virtuous not holy abide. And all outside the visional heaven is hell. The holy live in the eternal golden sunshine of glory; the virtuous in the silver moonshine of intellectual enjoyment. Personally we would not peremptorily condemn Mr. Cook's hypothesis as a mental relief to those who need it. We cannot, however, elevate the conception to a dogma, nor write it an article in a structural theology. Whichever way private speculation may verge, we should say to the virtuous not holy man, Your position is, nevertheless, precarious and dangerous; "give heed to make your calling and election *sure*." Leave not the eternal blessedness to a contingency.

We cannot fully admire the finesses of Mr. Smyth in the present and past volumes. His curvelinear periods about the "New England theology," as if New England had but one theology, and as if a narrow local name for a theology were a recommendation instead of a disparagement, we do not intensely admire. And to cover over his emergence from the past Calvinism of New England under such terms as "the New Orthodoxy," "the New Calvinism," "the New Theology," seems to us a very superficial showiness. He seems like a fresh spring butterfly who imagines that such an epoch as *his* emergence into existence is to make all things "new." It took long centuries and eons for creation to arrive at his advent. Now we say that truth is *old*. As Dr. Nevins once said, "*Old* Calvinism is none the worse for being *old*." If oldness were Calvinism's only unfortunate point, that point it shares with geometry and with God. The new geometric truth, discovered not invented, never invalidates the old. We are and are proud to be, traditionalist. Next to the Bible and conscience we believe in the Church. We study the dogmas of the thinkers of past centuries, and especially the nearest to Christ. With Wesley we love to recur to the "Scriptures and the primitive Church."

But Mr. Smyth now brings out the giant Dorner upon us to crush opposition like an avalanche. Awful! But we intimated in a late Quarterly that we are to be numbered among the admirers, but not the worshipers or followers, of Dorner. In his "History of Protestant Theology," for instance, Dorner gives a definition of Arminianism which, Arminian through our life long as we had supposed ourselves to be, defined an Arminianism we never heard of, and never dreamed, and do not understand. We do suppose the gross caricature had a purpose. And Dorner is often muddy. We cannot, indeed, quite characterize him as Robert Hall did the great Calvinistic Doctor, John Owen: "A continent of mud, sir; a continent of mud!" At any rate we should make reserve that the muddy continent has many a placer of golden ore; and the mud may be quite worth exploring for the sake of the golden finds. But as *authority* Dorner decides nothing for us.

But while we do not admire the finesses of Mr. Smyth, we do confess a reverence for the high-souled frankness of Professor Park, in boldly attributing to Wesleyan-Arminianism a central prominence at the present hour in the maintenance of Protestant orthodoxy. It is a high compliment from a high authority. Methodists entertain thereat no puerile feeling of triumph, but do cherish a veneration for the magnanimity that makes such a statement. It portends no ecclesiastical unions of organizations; but it heralds a harmony of inward feelings among the organizations. For fifty years past it has appeared to us that our Methodism stood very much in the way of the New England reformers from Calvinism. We had preoccupied the ground of a liberal evangelical theology; and their problem, a very difficult one, and also a very unnecessary one, was how to liberalize without coinciding with us. Moses Stuart, in a bold, true, historic spirit, revealed to astonished Calvinistic New England that Arminianism, true Arminianism, the Arminianism of Arminius himself, was not the ragged effigy which their pulpits had been bethumping for a century or two, but was evangelical and marked with the characteristics of truth. In the same style Professor Park has made a still further frank advance. But in the general, the impolicy of the late Dr. Fitch, of New Haven, and of Newman Smyth, has been followed; namely, to smuggle themselves into Arminianism, and call it "a different statement of the same doctrine," "a statement of Calvinism which is so made that Arminians are obliged to accept it;" or a "New Orthodoxy," "a New

Calvinism," and finally, in Mr. Smyth's present *brochure*, "a New Theology." In all these flexible metamorphoses one curiosity is the absurd tenacity with which they stick to the term "Calvinism." If they are unhappily born heirs to a theology which the nineteenth century of Christendom will not stand, no man in history is more flagrantly responsible for this, their fate, than John Calvin. Nevertheless, they writhe to get out of his fetters and yet to retain his label. Great were the powers and energies of John Calvin; great his services to the Protestant Reformation; yet his great and ghastly failure was as a constructive theologian; and yet, curiously enough, it is in just this sphere that they struggle to retain his name!

As to the heathen problem, to solve which the theory of *post-mortem* probation is suggested, it has been fully considered and fairly solved in the Arminian theology. Curcellæus in his able treatise, *De necessitate cognitionis Christi ad salutem*, unfolded the true view, followed, or at least coincided with, by Wesley in his commentary, and Fletcher of Madeley in his polemic tractates. Of that solution we have given a tolerably full statement in our chapter on the Equation of Probational Advantages, pp. 343–[illegible] of our volume on The Will. So satisfactory to our Methodism herself from the beginning has been that solution, that we have had no temptation to the *post-mortem* theory in the past, and none but a very few eccentric and local thinkers in the present have tended toward that notion—thinkers, especially about Boston, who have apparently absorbed it into their organisms from the surrounding Congregational atmosphere.

We are told that this is a revised translation of Dorner; and we are moved to inquire why did not this revision transform Dorner's uncouth Teutonic into pure and lucid English. Are they admired the very unshapeliness of their idol, the translator take good care that it should re-appear in the English wording? Take, as a fair specimen of the whole, the very first sentence that salutes the puzzled attention of the English reader in this purified version: "There is to be a consummation of individuals" [what is "a consummation of individuals"?] and of the whole ["whole" what?] particularly of the Church, which, however, shall not be realized ["shall" here used illegitimately for the simple future *will;* whereas "shall" would properly express Dorner's purpose and determination that the thing *shall* be] through a purely immanent continuous process, but only through crisis and through the second coming of Christ." And so on through

pages of lumbering clumsiness, requiring us to re-read the absurd misconstructions to elicit a meaning; a fault which is Dorner's nature, but the translator's folly.

Sermons and Speeches. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D., President of Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 12mo, pp. 428. Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn. 1883.

We are duly instructed, in printed note, by Dr. M'Ferrin, to call attention to the handsome execution of this Nashville volume, and to its low price of one dollar and twenty-five cents. We cheerfully obey instructions. And we add the wish that a million copies may be sold, and that, by publishing works of such excellence, the Southern Methodist Publishing House may grow rich and powerful for good. Times are beautifully changed. We seem to remember the time when our good Dr. M'Ferrin considered the slightest unfavorable allusion to slavery, in any book, "a fly in the ointment," from whose pestilential odor the said House must be quarantined; and probably Wesley's works were the only anti-slavery volumes tolerated about House. And this book, published in 1852, would have consigned the author to degradation and banishment, with Professor Hedrick, from slave land. Dr. Haygood, however, has a ready retort. He can point to the pro-slavery fanaticism that, at the same time, disgraced the North. So that our rejoicing is properly over the advance made by both South and North in the direction of righteousness and freedom.

Dr. Haygood is a mentor for "the times." He does not preach extensively against the wickedness of the scribes and Pharisees of the olden time; but he aims his sharp-shootings against the shortcomings and misdoings of the Southerners before him. He does this so skillfully and pointedly that a Southerner might say: "That's personal; it means me." The response of the preacher might be: "Precisely so, thou art the man." In his sermon on "The New South" he reads to his audience a catalogue of "unpleasant things," "weaker points," and "lacks" of his dear South. First is "our intense provincialism," isolation from the world, and consequent inordinate self-appreciation; and here he utters the memorable sentence: "Had we been less provincial, less shut in by and with our own ideas; had we known the world better, we would have known ourselves better, and *there would have been no war in* 1861." That is, the war was the result of Southern ignorance and narrowness. What a eulogy on the leaders of that great assault on our national Union!

The second lack is "illiteracy." The third, "our want of literature;" and this is to us a most unaccountable fact. There is plenty of ability in our South. In oratory and in politics the talent of Southern men seems to have vindicated, and also exhausted itself. But where are the contributions to poetry, to history, to science, to biblical literature, to periodical essay, in the South? We have seen defenses of slavery based on its furnishing the means of literary leisure, and so of a higher civilization; but how much soever the leisure, the literature, or the civilization has failed to appear. The miserable, Yankee, wooden-nutmeg State of Connecticut alone, the object of supreme Southern contempt, has had at one period, within our own memory, more superior poets, contemporaneously, than the entire broad-spread South through her whole history. The fourth point is the want of educational facilities, colleges, and universities. The fifth is "manufacturing interests." And the orator finally concludes with this home truth: "Our provincialism, our want of literature, our lack of educational facilities and of manufactures, like our lack of population, are all explained by one fact and one word—slavery. But for slavery Georgia would be as densely peopled as Rhode Island. Wherefore, among many other reasons, I say again, I thank God that it is no more among us!"

Skillfully, if not quite ingenuously, Dr Haygood prefaces these frank reproofs with an undiscriminating taunt against "our Northern censors." He hints no thought that these "censors" ever spoke, like himself, in honesty or sincerity, with desire to remove rather than produce reproach; or that they were the true destroyers of "slavery," and so the best friends of the South. Garrison, Greeley, and, we may add, our own humble Quarterly, spoke no words of hate of the South when they censured the wrong-doings in the South. Their censures enabled him to utter his. Had they never spoken, his lips would have been forever sealed; or, if opened with such speech, lynch-law would have sentenced him to banishment. When these "Northern-censors" were asked, Why oppose slavery here where no slavery is? they replied, Because no one there will speak. Dead silence reigned under the sway of the slave-power. It was the "Northern censors" who emancipated both the slave and Dr. Haygood. And he does, in fact, but implicitly repeat their censures; their censures for the same faults, and which they attributed to the same cause. And until this day it is the "Northern censors" that compel Southern sentiment to onward progress. Such "censors" say,

with Jesus, Why do ye not of your own selves judge that which is right? And when Southern men, and the Southern religious press, and Southern churches, come to utter these truths in their full power, the "Northern censors" will rejoice to find their occupation gone. The vote of the last Southern General Conference, making Dr. Haywood Bishop-elect, announces, with cheering authority, that the bold speaker could no longer be ostracised, and the issue of this book from the Southern House declares that truth about slavery is in order with Southern Methodism. The logic of events, the logic of thought, and the logic of conscience will yet compel the utterance of still bolder conclusions in still firmer style.

Many of the discourses of this volume are pastoral sermons, treating not of the public status, but of the inner truths of the Gospel. And these are quite equal in ability and quality to the best in the series. The same insight into realities, the same independence in rebuke, and the same sharp analysis of popular fallacies, are displayed in the specially religious sphere. One of the best of the series was preached at Oxford "during the great revival." There may be more "eloquent" men; but we suspect that the South has no abler preacher and no truer statesman than the author of this volume.

Lectures and Addresses by Rev. Thomas Guard, D.D. With a Memorial Sermon by Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, D.D. Compiled by Will J. Guard. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. $1 50.

Dr. Thomas Guard was, like Summerfield and Maffit, a gift from Ireland to American Methodism. Of the peculiar style of eloquence of which they were eminent specimens Ireland is said to be the home; though it may be said to be Celtic, for France abounds with much the same style; and more broadly still it abundantly appears among the more fervid sons of our own South. "It comes not by much study," says Goethe; it is a gift, or a result of a combination of qualities done up in the nature of the man. Good imitations of it may be wrought up by elaborate efforts, but seldom so completely as to pass for truly natural. When combined with powerful logic, or based on a solid substrate of good sense, it becomes true, legitimate, and powerful oratory.

Mr. Guard was born in Galway, Ireland, in 1831, and died in Baltimore, 1882. A marked episode in his life was his mission in South Africa, the interest of which brought him on a visit to America. Here it became clear that the missionary field was not his true mission. As great and greater men are needed in that

field; but Mr. Guard's peculiar gifts marked him out for a metropolitan preacher. His career was brilliant and ever broadening, but, alas! too brief. He ascended to the empyrean before the meridian of his fame was reached.

There are in the volume fifteen public addresses, of somewhat varied excellence, but every one the product of an oratorical genius. They are preceded by a Memorial Sermon by Dr. Talmage, a man of kindred genius and greatness of soul. Perhaps the best of Guard's performances is that on the Sovereignty of Man, delivered in San Francisco at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute Fair, in 1879. We give one strain from this address on man's appropriation of nature's forces to his use:

"From the marching season and the timely rains; from the hidden wealth of mountains and from the wealth more real of the generous soil; from the products of the forest and of the flock, of the field and of the far-resounding sea, man draws revenues and service. Lightning is his courier, and sunlight his artist. Trade-winds waft his white-winged argosies, and snows gather on Sierra crests to swell the floods wherewith his ample acres shall be irrigated. Flowers, by their weird alchemy, transmute dew and gases into aromatic odors for his delight; and change sunbeams and dull clays into hues emerald, purple, and roseate, wherewith to greet his kindling glance, as he moves out to gaze upon an inheritance, over which 'far as the breeze can bear the billow's foam' it one day shall be true, man's nod is empire, and his footfall law. Silkworms spin for him; oysters secrete pearls for him; for him lime becomes marble, and carbon, diamonds; rocks are turned into silver, and plants become coal. Rivers leap to light from lofty fountains in the hearts of hoary hills that, utilizing the law of gravitation, man may make them turn his ponderous wheels and whirl his myriad spindles. The wild fowl 'nurses' the plume that shall wave upon his victor helmet; and the cotton and the flax plant offer the fibers of which to fashion the banners beneath whose folds he shall move forth to conquest, or repose unharmed amid the fruits of his free and honest industry. Force guards him—sows, reaps, threshes, and grinds for him, as in ages past it toiled in fashioning his dwelling-place. Art breathes inspiration. Music reveals her mystic laws to his modulating genius. The block becomes a thing of beauty. The canvas glows with the tints and flush of life. Arch and pillar, capital and dome, spring from earth and soar to heaven, obedient to his all but necromantic touch."—Pp. 296–297.

Adversaria Theologica. A Select and Classified Bibliography of Theology and General Religious Literature. By JOHN F. HURST, LL.D. 8vo, pp. xvi and 417. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

Our indefatigable Bishop Hurst has found time, amid the pressure of other cares, to prepare and publish, under the above title, a most convenient and valuable theological index, adapted especially to meet the practical wants of the great body of English theological students and readers. Some professional scholars may wish that he had carried out the plan, which he indicates in his preface as the original scheme, formed years ago in Germany, of a more elaborate and comprehensive work covering the theological literature of other languages as well as the English. Such a work, however, would have required many volumes, have been necessarily costly and beyond the reach and needs of multitudes who read English only, and who desire just such a select and classified bibliography of theological and general religious literature to guide them in their reading and studies.

There is no end of making books, for each generation demands fresh treatment of all great and interesting subjects. Modern scholarship aims to appropriate the best literary productions of the past, and to go beyond them. Bibliography, therefore, is likely to become a recognized science. He who saves the time of a student, and enables him to expedite his researches, is a real benefactor. Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors" and Darling's "Cyclopædia Bibliographica" have been an invaluable aid to thousands, and other similar works of less magnitude have proven equally useful in their way. But every work of this kind needs revision and supplementing as the years come and go.

The plan of the present work is at once simple and comprehensive. It is not designed to be a complete or exhaustive catalogue of English theological literature, but to furnish the titles of a select number of standard works in the several departments. The table of contents (pp. 9–16) gives us, first, in brief outline, the topics and arrangement of the whole book. Part I (pp. 1–34) is entitled *Introduction*, and contains a list of general works on the study of theology, bibliography, lexicography, cartography, and large collections like the Edinburgh Ante-Nicene Christian Library, the Biblical Cabinet, the Bampton Lectures, etc., with the authors and titles of each separate treatise. Part II (pp. 35–113) is devoted to *Exegetical Theology*, embracing grammatical and philological helps to the study of the biblical languages, and an ample list of the best commentaries. This part also

comprises under distinct heads all such subjects as biblical antiquities, chronology, geography, inspiration, and prophecy. Part III (pp. 114–240) presents a list of the great works on *Historical Theology*, embracing not only the great writers on general Church history, but also those on special periods, sects, and denominations, missionary and other benevolent societies, histories of doctrines and of ethnic religions. Part IV (pp. 241–303) is equally full and comprehensive on the subject of *Systematic Theology*, and Part V (pp. 304–358) on *Practical Theology*. Fifteen pages of *Addenda* (pp. 361–375) furnish a further list of the most recent literature in the four leading departments previously treated. The whole is provided with full indexes of authors and of subjects. It is printed in large, handsome type, and will be welcomed by English and American students.

Sermons on The Higher Life. By Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN, D.D., Author of "The Mission of the Spirit," "Holiness to the Lord," "The Angels of God," "Gardens of Spices," etc. With an Introduction by BISHOP SIMPSON. 12mo, pp. 332. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1882.

Mr. Dunn remarks that "there is no volume of sermons specifically upon 'The Higher Life' in our literature, either in England or America;" and the present publication is made to fill the blank. He furnishes twenty sermons, preached at divers times and places in the course of his ministry; yet connected in the order of thought, and furnishing a certain symmetry and completeness of view. Though meeting objections by the wayside, and solving occasional difficulties, the whole series is rather constructive than controversial. The spirit is free, fresh, and animated; the style pure, perspicuous, and flowing; and the preacher ranges through the regions of modern literature and thought for living illustrations. The reader will find this one of the best exhibitions of this most vital subject in the range of our literature.

The Marriage in Cana of Galilee. By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., author of "Bible Teachings in Nature," etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. 12mo, pp. 292.

This is a gem of singular beauty. Its treatment of miracle reminds us of Trench, yet displaying, with an equal erudition, a richer power of analogy, a finer imagination, and a more poetic grace of diction. The work of the publishers is apparently a task of love, for they have made the book "a gem in a rich setting." The transparent fluidity of style is rendered all the more

conspicuous from the delicate paper, the perfect type, and the liberal spacing. It is a fine book for a bridal memorial.

"There is no such thing, therefore, as unfermented wine."—P. 163. Then a good many folks are in a bad box. The Methodist Episcopal General Conference has decreed, "Let none but the pure unfermented juice of the grape be used in administering the Lord's Supper;" it has, therefore, excluded wine from the communion. The Church of Abyssinia, founded, perhaps, by the premier of Queen Candace, most tenacious of ancient usages among all the Churches, has ever prohibited the fermented article. Dr. Kerr, of London, exhibits to his audiences a whole catalogue of the unfermented article. Mr. Speer, of New Jersey, advertises far and wide an unfermented grape juice for sacramental and medicinal purposes, for the genuineness of which he challenges the severest scrutiny of science. Are not our alcoholic-wine brethren just a little fanatical?

The Celestial Symbol Interpreted; or, The Natural Wonders and Spiritual Teachings of the Sun, as Revealed by the Triumphs of Modern Science. By HERBERT W. MORRIS, D.D., Formerly Professor of Mathematics in Newington Collegiate Institute, London; Author of "Science and The Bible," "Present Conflict of Science with the Christian Religion," and "Testimony of the Ages to the Truth of Scripture." Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 704. Philadelphia: J. C. M'Curdy & Co. 1883.

The central thought of this elaborate and unique volume is the resemblance between Christ and the sun. It is, therefore, a book by eminence of Analogies. Of these Analogies the main solar bases are Six; namely, The Sun as Primary Globe—as Source of Light—as Fountain of Heat—as Source of Actinism—as Magnetic Center—as Center of Gravitation. These six generic bases of Analogy are founded, as copiously shown, in the truths of Science, which are adduced with much fullness and interest. The specific analogies under these six heads are traced with much ingenuity, there being under the third head no less than eighteen analogies fully unfolded. The engraved illustrations are so many that the book can be properly called a Pictorial. It is written in a full and forcible style, and furnishes both a good body of science and of excellent Theology.

The Revival and after the Revival. By J. H. VINCENT. Square 18mo, pp. 74. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 40 cents.

This daintily gotten up little monograph from Dr. Vincent's busy and graceful pen is replete with timely hints and valuable suggestions on revival methods and on the treatment of con-

verts saved during revival services. Dr. Vincent is thoroughly Methodistic in his sympathy with revivals, whether viewed as "times of refreshing" to the Church, or as seasons of extraordinary quickening among the unregenerate by the Holy Ghost; but he would have our pastors prevent, as much as possible, the admixture of wild-fire with the pure flame kindled by the "power from on high." His thoughts on the training of converts after the revival are eminently judicious. His style is clean cut, terse, vigorous, and suited to his topic. The book is well calculated to strengthen the faith of the Church in those spiritual revivals which are God's answers to the rationalistic spirit of the times.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The African in the United States. By Professor E. W. Gilliam. Popular Science Monthly for February, 1883. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

If arithmetic, as handled by Professor Gilliam, is to be trusted, the Southern States of our Union are destined to become, within a century, the *Negro Belt* of the American continent. They are literally to become an Africa in America. The certainty of this dark streak of destiny arises from the superior prolificacy of the Negro race. Before the war our Southern brethren maintained, against the abolitionists, that the Negroes, if emancipated, "could not take care of themselves." They would go to the wall, or rather to the ditch, and utterly perish. And after the war the extinction of the race was predicted. Dr. Keener, (now Bishop,) as editor of the New Orleans "Advocate," said, with brilliant antithesis, "For others the alternative is 'liberty or death,' for the Negro it is *slavery or death.*" His only chance for life was to come under the control of an overseer. But events have gradually shown that the Negro is a persistent entity, and none denies that he is a permanent and effective factor. And now Professor Gilliam, himself a Southerner, we believe, comes forth, census in hand, and shows us that the natural and permanent increase of the Negro is five per cent. greater than that of the Caucasian; that this superiority is based in physiological causes, and must result at no distant period in an immense majority, within that section, of the colored race, with all the consequences of political supremacy which such a majority involves. His chronological horoscope is as follows:

"Now mark the following: The white population, increasing at the rate of twenty per cent. in ten years, or two per cent. per annum, doubles itself every thirty-five years. The black, increasing at the rate of thirty-five per cent. in ten years, or three and a half per cent. per annum, doubles itself in twenty years. Hence we find:

Whites in United States in	1880	(in round numbers)	.....			42,000,000
" "	1915	"	"	.....		84,000,000
" "	1950	"	"	.....		168,000,000
" "	1985	"	"	.....		336,000,000
Northern whites in	1880	.....				30,000,000
" "	1915	.....				60,000,000
" "	1950	.....				120,000,000
" "	1985	.....				240,000,000
Southern whites in	1880	.....				12,000,000
" "	1915	.....				24,000,000
" "	1950	.....				48,000,000
" "	1985	.....				96,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in	1880	.....				6,000,000
" " "	1900	.....				12,000,000
" " "	1920	.....				24,000,000
" " "	1940	.....				48,000,000
" " "	1960	.....				96,000,000
" " "	1980	.....				192,000,000

"Our interest is in the progress of population in the Southern States, where the blacks almost altogether now are, and where they will continue to be massed more and more; and above stand the significant figures. These will be modified more or less by disturbing causes, the most prominent being immigration. But even should immigration ever take a pronounced Southern direction, yet immigration must slacken, and before many years practically cease, while the black growth must be perpetually augmenting, perpetually advancing its volume; and, every allowance being made, it is morally certain that in seventy or eighty years (as things now go) the blacks in every Southern State will overwhelmingly preponderate.—P. 437.

He next demonstrates, as he assumes, that the Negroes are "an alien race" incapable of commixture with the native Caucasian; though it seems that the Southern Caucasian finds it necessary to prohibit intermarriage between the two races, and appeal to the Supreme Court of the Union to ratify his enactments. And thence it follows that there must be a struggle between two hostile races. "The advancement of the blacks becomes a menace to the whites. No two free races, remaining distinctly apart, can advance side by side without a struggle for supremacy. The thing is impossible. The world has never witnessed it, and *a priori* grounds are all against it."—P. 440.

If all this be true, the result is only a question of time. A probable war of races, a sure victory for the Negro, and an inevitable occupancy of the ground by the victor race. The Negro will draw the color line, and the white stratum will underlie it. Such is the stupendous menace arising from the introduction of the African slave into our system. Such the terrible retribution upon the maintainers of Southern slavery. Be it here remembered that South Carolina and Georgia refused to enter the American Union unless the slave trade should be continued until 1808. What an elephant did they take in hand!

What remedy does the professor propose? "Colonization"! Draw off the surplus increase by a system of deportation. It does not occur to him to ask the Negro's consent. As the Negro was shipped hither without asking his leave, so ship him back again by the decisive arm. But as the Negro is an American citizen, it is not clear how he can be legally banished while guiltless of crime. Nor is it clear that the Negro will voluntarily sail off to Africa to prevent his own coming ascendency in America. Professor Blyden, of Liberia, lately asked for only five hundred thousand American Negroes to build up his African republic, and the Negro editors of this country promptly told him they could not be spared, they were needed to fight the battle of Negro equality here. How much more will they be immovable after the professor has shown them that they may aim not at equality merely, but ascendency.

We do suppose, however, that with the Negro, as with other races, elevation means diminished prolificacy. This seems a general law both with different races of animals and different grades of men. (On this subject see our Quarterly for January, 1866, pp. 161–166.) The lowest races propagate by myriads, the higher by litters, and then by units. Æsop's prolific rabbit taunted the lioness because she produced but one at a time. Her majesty replied, "One, but *a lion!*" Educate the Negro, and transfer his virility from his procreative to his intellective faculties. Round out his brain, and not only may his virility be less reproductive, but he may even grow wiser than Professor Gilliam now is, so that he may feel that a difference of facial complexion is no more a ground of hostility and war than a difference in the color of eyes. And, finally, the ultimate result might be that the Caucasian would gradually retreat northward, where climatic obstructions stand in the Negro's way, and leave a belt of nearly pure Afric-Americans.

Geometry and Faith. A Supplement to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. By THOMAS HILL. Third Edition, greatly enlarged. 12mo, pp. 109. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1882.

Contributions to the theistic argument, of a most elevated and conclusive character, come upon us unexpectedly from the advances of scientific thought. A Harvard professor not long since furnished, under title of *The Religion of Chemistry*, a volume, lately noticed by us, in this department of thought, of eminent value. An ex-president of Harvard, in the present book, makes geometry tributary to faith in the divine existence. Arithmetic and the higher *mathesis* have heretofore been generally supposed to have no relation to theology. But Dr. Hill's volume, ranging through the higher walks of thought, discloses applications in nature of mathematical doctrine, which truly demonstrate the maxim of Plato, that "God geometrizes." The omnipotent Creator was an omniscient mathematician. The author has, in a book all too brief, furnished us a guide in reading these divine but occult truths in things all around us: a book quite worth, not only the perusal, but the study of our reflective thinkers.

So far as the logical sequences of mathematics are intrinsically necessary, they afford no theistic arguments; but it is in bringing things under the control of mathematical law that will and design reveal themselves. Dr. Hill shows how wonderfully this imposition of mathematical laws rules over the system of creation, and obliges us to recognize its obedience to the control of thought. Among the varied exhibitions of this designed subjection of nature to mathematical law (we have space for but one) are the phenomena of *Phyllotaxis*, or the position of leaves on a tree. The problem being, so to expose the leaves as to secure the best growth, science has found that they are ranged in a mathematical order which secures the result; the principle of which was not discovered by mortals until A. D. 1845. Now, three things are here to be noted: first, that a result was evidently aimed at, showing *design;* second, deep mathematical principles were used, showing the profound *intelligence* from which the design issued; third, the arbitrarily selecting and imposing upon the system of leaves this mathematical *plan*, evincing intelligent *will*. The exhibition of these three things through all nature evinces the unity of the designing Mind. But here comes a catch. The obedience of the phyllotaxis is not always exact. The law is often transgressed. Does not this refute the theistic argument? Quite the reverse. The *mathesis* is so uniform as to demonstrate that it

was fully understood, yet so dispensed with as to show that it could have been rejected, and so was voluntarily adopted. And here opens a grand solution of the inexactnesses, the looseness, the evils in the world, all which, unquestionably, for some reason exist, but do not disprove that it is a Mind-governed world.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Beginnings of History according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples. From the Creation of Man to the Deluge. By FRANÇOIS LENORMANT, Professor of Archæology at the National Library of France, etc., etc. Translated from the Second French Edition. With an Introduction by FRANCIS BROWN, Associate Professor in Biblical Philology, Union Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. [illegible] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882. Price, $2 50.

By natural genius, and indeed by paternal inheritance, Lenormant is a great archæologist. From his almost boyhood he has been nearly a prodigy in this sphere of research, and when the new Assyriology opened upon the world he gave himself to its studies with fervid enthusiasm and abundant results. This enthusiasm was intensified by the relations of Assyriology to Sacred Writ. For Lenormant is a devout Christian. Both in his "Manual of the Ancient History of the East" and in the present volume he professes his faith with a firm frankness which might well be emulated by Protestant scientists. He hesitates not to declare his earnest orthodox Christianity, but even his reverent obedience to the "center of unity," the Holy See. Throughout his volume he not only maintains the consistency of his explications with the most central Christian doctrine, but proposes his theory as a reconciliation and harmony of religion and archæological science. His solution is to us new, and we believe original. How far satisfactory is another question.

Our standard theologians, according to the light and knowledge they had, have heretofore proposed a very satisfactory solution of the relations between the biblical cosmogony and primeval history and the ethnic. So clear, consistent with nature and religion, was the biblical narrative, and even in its supernaturalisms so natural, that, in comparison with the ethnic, it looked like veritable though miraculous history by the side of a perverted and caricaturing travesty, which by its resemblances confirmed the biblical truth, and by its variations exposed its own inauthenticity. This theory, we repeat was satisfactory in view of the

then existing archæology. But the question now comes up, How far is this view tenable in the light of the new revelations gradually breaking upon us from the Orient? And how far specially does Lenormant's view solve the problem?

The Assyrian and biblical narratives of the primeval ages are, according to Lenormant, alike legendary, spontaneous fictions, often springing up in the popular mind. And the great difference between the two is that in the latter a divine inspiration has reshaped the legend, breathed into it a divine monotheism, made it the vehicle of religious truth and, ultimately, of a holy theology and an infallible Christianity. The mass of legends in the hands of the inspired Hebrew becomes a sacred *parable;* it is not, at least necessarily, historic truth; but it is the costume in which spiritual truth enrobes itself. Thus, he tells us:

> That which we read in the first chapters of *Genesis* is not an account dictated by God himself, the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people. It is a tradition whose origin is lost in the night of the remotest ages, and which all the great nations of western Asia possessed in common, with some variations. The very form given it in the Bible is so closely related to that which has been lately discovered in Babylonia and Chaldea, it follows so exactly the same course, that it is quite impossible for me to doubt any longer that it has the same origin. *The family of Abraham carried this tradition with it* in the migration which brought it from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine; and even then it was doubtless already fixed, either in a written or an oral form; for beneath the expressions of the Hebrew text, in more than one place, there appear certain things which can be explained only as expressions peculiar to the Assyrian language, as, for instance, the play of words in Gen. xi, 4, which clearly has its source in the analogy of the words *zikru*, "remembrance, name," and *zikurat*, "tower, pyramid with stories," in the last-named idiom. The biblical writers, in recording this tradition in the beginning of their books, created a genuine archæology in the sense attached to the word by the Greeks.—P. 15.

His theory of inspiration is thus stated:

> But, if this is so, I shall perhaps be asked, Where then do you find the divine cooperation of the writers who made this *archæology*—that supernatural help by which, as a Christian, you must believe them to have been guided? Where? In the absolutely new spirit which animates their narration, even though the form of it may have remained in almost every respect the same as among the neighboring nations. It is the same narrative, and in it the same episodes succeed one another in like manner; and yet one would be blind not to perceive that the signification has become altogether different. The exuberant polytheism which encovers these stories among the Chaldeans has been carefully eliminated, to give place to the severest monotheism. What formerly expressed naturalistic conceptions of a singular grossness here becomes the garb of moral truths of the most elevated and most purely spiritual order. The essential features of the form of the tradition have been preserved; and yet, between the Bible and the sacred books of Chaldea there is all the distance of one of the most tremendous revolutions which have ever been effected in human beliefs. Herein consists the miracle, and in none the less amazing for being transposed. Others may seek to explain this by the simple natural progress of the conscience of humanity; for myself, I do not hesitate to find in it the effect of a supernatural intervention of Divine Providence, and I bow before the God who inspired the Law and the Prophets.—P. 16.

The following passage, however, seems to admit a histo... starting-point of the so-called legends, (attesting also the orth... doxy of the author,) and suggests the non-necessity of denying ... factual origin and a genuine truth in any of the biblical narra... tions derived through Abraham from the primeval account, ... compiled by Moses.

The first chapters of Genesis are nothing more than a collection of the anci... Hebrew traditions of the beginnings of things; traditions which they held in ... mon with the nations by whom they were surrounded, and in a very special w... with the Chaldeo-Babylonians. This compilation was made by inspired wri... who found means, while collating the old narratives, to make them the figura... garb of eternal truths, such as the creation of the world by a personal God; t... descent of mankind from a single pair; their fall in consequence of the guil... the first parents, which put them under the dominion of sin; the free-will chara... of the first sin, and of those which followed in its train.—P. 337.

But his most distinct acknowledgment of historical fact i... made in regard to the deluge, as follows:

The account of the deluge is an universal tradition in all branches of the hum... family, with the sole exception of the black race. And a tradition every-where ... exact and so concordant cannot possibly be referred to an imaginary myth. A religious or cosmogonic myth possesses this character of universality. It n... necessarily be the reminiscence of an actual and terrible event, which made ... powerful an impression upon the imagination of the first parents of our sp... that their descendants could never forget it. This cataclysm took place near t... primitive cradle of mankind, and previous to the separation of the families fr... whom the principal races were to descend.—P. 487.

And again:

Henceforth, however, we need not hesitate to state that the biblical deluge, far from being a myth, was an actual and historic fact, which overwhelmed, at ... very least, the ancestors of the races of Aryans, or Indo-Europeans; Semites ... Syro-Arabians; and Elamites, or Kushites; in other words, the three great civ... ized races of the ancient world, who constitute the really superior type of mank... before the ancestors of these three races were as yet separated, and which ... curred in that Asiatic country which they inhabited conjointly.—P. 488.

The test, then, of original historicity is *the universality of the tradition.* Of these traditions Lenormant examines several in successive chapters; as, the Creation of Man, the First Sin, the Genealogies of the Patriarchs, etc. To our own view he has not satisfactorily refuted the old view of Faber in his "Horæ Mosaicæ," and others; namely, that the Bible presents the historic fact of which the ethnics give only semi-fabulous variations. And this seems specially true of the great facts with which the New Testament is concerned. We note a specimen or two.

Most important in this relation is the chapter on *The First Sin.* And this chapter opens with the acknowledgment: "The idea of the Edenic happiness of the first human beings constitutes one of the universal traditions." The primeval super-

natural instauration of the human race, then, is a literal reality. Evolutionism when it denies this is contradicted by the historic fact. There was a first man, and Lenormant says his original name was Adiuru, of which Adam may seem to be a modification, so constructed as to make it a genuine and significant Hebrew word. And archæology plentifully presents before us the Edenic circumstantials: the garden, the sacred tree, the serpent, and the loss of all. We have, then, historically true, fringed or not with symbol, an Adam, an Eden with its tree, its serpent, and its catastrophe. All this exists in history, geography, and genealogy; and we submit that it amply sustains Paul's parallelisms between the equally real first and second Adam. Rom. v, and elsewhere. We hold that Faber is here fully sustained by the expatiations of Lenormant.

A chapter on the Kerubim and revolving sword of Gen. iii, 24, covers the subject with rich erudition. He seems to identify the Kerubim materialistically with the winged bulls of Babylon. Why not suppose they were the angelic forces of which the winged bulls were the Babylonic symbol—*bull*, as emblem of power; *winged*, as emblem of divine swiftness. On the Patriarchal Genealogies Lenormant gives strong reason, as intimated in our last Quarterly, for believing that they are abridgments, artificially adjusted to the number ten as those in Matthew are to the number fourteen. Nay, it seems undeniable that the detailed numbers, fixing the age of each patriarch at the birth of his son, is an artificial addition by some pre-Mosaic translator of the ante-Hebraic documents. Moses gave the genealogies as he found them; just as Wesley says that Luke did. This does not invalidate the historicity of the pedigree itself, as indicating the Adamic-Messianic line. But further, Lenormant shows plausibly some remarkable correspondences between the Cainite and Sethite pedigrees of Genesis. As the Sethite pedigree gives ten names before the flood, branching into three sons after the flood, (Shem, Ham, and Japhet,) so the Cainite pedigree gives us seven names branching into three sons, equaling ten, all before the flood. Names in the two lines curiously correspond. Several couples are nearly the same name, varied so as to give a bad meaning to the Cainite name, and a good meaning to its Sethite correlative. By these facts Lenormant is convinced that the historicity of at least the Cainite line is invalidated. But why so? The original names, especially of the Cainite line, were not Hebrew, and the fact that the Hebrew copy of the pedigree

somewhat manipulates the forms of the names does not invalidate the reality of the persons. The name of Babylon, *Babel, Gate of God*, was Hebraically manipulated into *Babel, confusion*; and *Adiuru*, according to Lenormant, was manipulated into *Adam, red earth*; as later *Shechem* became *Sychar* (John iv, 5); but these modifications affected not the reality of the objects named. The stupendous length of antediluvian life, as given by the ethnic writers, is shown by him very conclusively to have an astronomical significance; but he fails in trying the same explicit with the biblical chronologies. His strenuous attempt to make a solar myth of Enoch is dismal. We venture, therefore, still to think, that though greatly modified, the earliest human pedigrees are really presented to us in Genesis and Luke.

The Mendelssohn Family, (1729-1847.) From Letters and Journals. By SEBASTIAN HENSEL. With eight portraits from drawings by William Hensel. Second revised edition. Translated by KARL KLINGEMANN and an American collaborator, with a notice by GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

The finest example of epistolary biography in existence is undoubtedly this of the Mendelssohns, by Sebastian Hensel, a member of that celebrated family. The work before us is translated from the second German edition by Karl Klingemann, in conjunction with an American collaborator. A translation of the first German edition was made by Lady Wallace, and published in England, in 1862. The second edition is extensively revised by the author, and brought down till after the death of Felix, the most distinguished member of this remarkable family. By the epistolary plan of biography the reader receives an original impression of the qualities of the characters delineated. Letters intended for the eyes of only the members of the family are laid before the reader in all their freshness and unrestrained simplicity of style. We thus see the persons themselves, not the portraiture of them as conceived and presented by a biographer. Indeed, the reader becomes the biographer. Naturally many matters of a purely personal or family nature are omitted, as being inappropriate for the public eye.

The Mendelssohn family is one of the most remarkable in Germany. Its importance reaches back, however, only four generations; its influential progenitor being Moses Mendelssohn, who was born in 1729. He was a poor Jewish lad in Dessau. At the age of fourteen he entered Berlin by the Rosenthal gate, the only

gate through which at that time foreign Jews were permitted to pass that great capital. Young Mendelssohn was seized with an intense desire for knowledge. His poverty was not so great an obstacle as the intense hatred then existing between Christians and Jews. The intolerance of the Jewish elders and rabbis was as intense as the opposition of the Christians. He was compelled to keep his studies secret to avoid being expelled from Berlin by his own brethren. Long afterward, when he was at the height of his glory, they anathematized him. Now the Jews of Germany look back with the highest respect to his work of emancipating his people from the oppressions of the Christians and the equally great oppression of their own rabbis, and call him their "second Moses." The first great stride which Moses Mendelssohn made was to learn the German language, then a perilous undertaking for a Jew. Without following the details of the life and work of this founder of the great Mendelssohn family, suffice it to say that he rose to the very highest rank as a writer upon history, literature, and philosophy. He came into the most intimate personal relations with all leading writers of Germany of his age; such as Nicolai, Herder, Kant, Jacobi, Campe, Michaelis, Lavater, and especially with Lessing. Lessing's famous drama, "Nathan the Wise," owes its origin to Lavater's attempt to convert Moses Mendelssohn from Judaism to Christianity. Most of the characters were taken from Mendelssohn's household. The noble, judicious, mild, and tranquil "Nathan" is none other than Moses Mendelssohn. Many of the philosophical ideas made famous in their development by Lessing were first expressed by Mendelssohn. In 1763 Mendelssohn carried off the academical prize with his "Essay on Evidence," for which the great Kant also competed. Subsequently Kant passed him a long way in his "Criticism of Pure Reason." The two men continued in lasting friendly intercourse, and Kant was a thorough admirer of the delicacy of perception, fine style, and fearless zeal for religious freedom, of his former rival. Mendelssohn was short, and badly deformed; he had a hump upon his back, and he stammered; but his clever, intellectual head, of which Lavater has given so lively a description, made up for all, as is often the case with deformed persons. Mendelssohn's house was frequented by nearly all distinguished strangers who visited Berlin in four consecutive generations, beginning with its founder.

Moses Mendelssohn left three sons, Joseph, Abraham, and

Nathan, and three daughters. The most distinguished of t daughters, Dorothea, married a banker named Veit. One their sons was the celebrated painter, Philipp Veit. Dorot was, later, separated from her husband, and married the phil pher, Frederick Schlegel. She soon turned Christian, in na and in religious profession, thus beginning the series of conv sions (or transferences) from Judaism to Protestant or Cath Christianity which later became so frequent in the descend of the Mendelssohn family. Madame de Staël, Constant, Varn gen, Spontini, Humboldt, and other persons distinguished in ar science, and letters, frequented the Schlegel household in Pari

Abraham Mendelssohn, the second son of Moses, was emine in his way, but eclipsed by his son, Felix. He himself ex presses this by the modest humorous words: "Formerly I was the son of my father; now I am the father of my so Abraham was nevertheless a very marked character. He oc cupied a middle ground between the firm adherence to Jud ism of Moses and the sincere Christian faith of Felix and h accomplished sister, Fanny: between the philosophic type of h father and the esthetic culture of his children. He was an a complished art critic, and of broad and many-sided culture. H became a prosperous banker at Hamburg, and by his large fo tune was able to gratify his refined taste and educate his ch dren in accordance with his views. He had his children brou up in the Christian faith, secretly at first, so as not to offe their grandmother. One day, when Fanny had played exquisit before her grandmother, the good lady asked her what pres she wished as a reward. The girl fell at her feet, and with te begged her to forgive her brother, Felix, for having become Christian. Thus a lasting reconciliation was effected. Abra called the famous musician, Zeller, to his house as tutor to Fe and Fanny. He also called Heyse, the distinguished phi ogist, to be their tutor in language. Abraham added the na of his wife's family, Bartholdy, to his own, and thus originat the double name of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, by which the s Felix is known to the world.

One sister, Fanny, married William Hensel, an artist of mu merit, the founder of the Prussian Academy of Archæology Rome, and the father of the author of this epistolary biogra of the Mendelssohn family. Her musical ability was remarka both in execution and in composition. She composed a weddi march for the organ, which was played at her marriage. H

husband, William Hensel, made portraits of a vast number of distinguished people who visited the Mendelssohn home. Among these we find the musicians, Carl von Weber, Paganini, Gounod, Liszt, Schumann; among painters, Cornelius, Ingres, Vernet, Magnus, Kaulbach; among men of letters, Körner, Brentano, Goethe, Heyne, Tieck, Hegel, Bunsen, Lepsius, Grimm, Ranke, Boeckh; the sculptors, Thorwaldsen, Rauch, Kiss; and the architect, Schinkel. Probably no other private house contains an equal collection of portraits of so distinguished people made within its own walls. Hensel got a deep inspiration from the frescoes by Veit, Schadow, and Cornelius, which were the first monuments of the reviving art of this century, painted by the commission of Abraham Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, in the Bartholdy palace at Rome while he was Prussian consul-general at Rome. The second daughter of Abraham, Rebecca, married the famous mathematician, Dirichlet.

But it is to Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, the eldest son of Abraham, that this family is indebted for the chief portion of its world-wide fame, and these volumes of epistolary biography for their greatest interest. In the many letters of this great musician which abound in these two volumes, we get a clear insight into the life and character of this man of whom his family and Germany are so justly proud. He is the crowning glory of the Mendelssohns. It is doubtful if any of the descendants will eclipse the brilliancy of his genius. It is more doubtful still if any of them will surpass the genial nature, the brilliant wit, the loving affection, for which Felix was so distinguished, and which shine so transparently through his letters. Felix was an accomplished draughtsman, and often yearned to devote his life to painting. But music gained a mastery over his spirit, and to this noble art he devoted the labor of his life with such consummate skill, zeal, love, and success. Though more than half of these two volumes is devoted to the letters of Felix and of his sister, Fanny, we will not here trace the career of Mendelssohn in its unbroken line of honorable and honored successes. In the ninth year of his age he appeared with distinction in a public concert in Berlin; in the following year in a similar concert in Paris. From this period he commenced his long series of compositions of every kind; some of them of a very elaborate and difficult character, and all of them classic in the highest degree. His letters admit us to an insight into his mode of composition. He caught the spirit of nature, whether it be a simple flower or

the Isles of Fingal, and thus found themes for many of his most beautiful pieces. At times he draws upon the margin of the music the flower or the scene which is the theme of the work.

But after perusing these volumes the reader lays them down with an even greater admiration for Felix as a man than as a musician. As a book of travels they are full of fine descriptions, pleasant incidents, and of portrayal of contemporary history. With kindly family feeling, genial wit, and sparkling vivacity the letters abound on every page.

A History of Latin Literature, from Ennius to Boethius. By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SIMCOX, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 405, 407. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

In his preface Mr. Simcox very forcibly presents the difficulties of his subject, arising from the paucity of the remains of Latin literature and the great gaps between the different portions of these remains. Almost all the work of the great law writers, for instance, of the second and third centuries of Rome, is lost; the laws of the republic have perished from the twelve tables downward. One cannot write the history of Roman schools and schoolmasters from the Decemvirs downward to Cassiodorus; but perhaps this is not to be regretted. For this part of the history we are largely dependent upon curt notes on the grammarians made by lazy copyists. What was before Ennius? Did Horace plagiarize Laberius? What was Augustan oratory like? Can we do justice to Cicero or Cæsar while we are so dependent upon their own works for political knowledge? How can we measure the unconscious hypocrisy of Livy while we can only guess at what he does not choose to tell us? One ideal of the history of a literature is a history of the people among whom it is produced; but it is doubtful, we suggest, whether literature ever attains to that representative character. It is necessarily more or less removed from the life of a people as soon as it attains self-consciousness, and vernacular literatures are both rare and fragmentary. The literary man of any age is apt to climb to the roof of his world to look off upon distant worlds; if he surveys his own world it is from some small orifice in the roof, and not through sympathetic relations with his age and its people. Even the ballads are apt to be songs taught to a people rather than the offspring of their life. That the people like them is an indication of the people's character; but Macaulay's "Lays of Rome" may give us that amount of knowledge, though

they may represent no creative popular feeling either in London or Rome. If a cobbler living in the last forty years B. C. had written a diary of his life, conversations, and thoughts—going fully into the details of all, and using his vernacular Roman tongue—it would be worth more than all our classic Latin as a mirror of his times. A hundred pages of the common Roman speech might tell us where the Italian language came from. When, in Apuleius, we find *de* used almost in its French sense, and also doing the work of an article in Quintilian, we remember that Cicero had to get rid of a habit of dropping the final *s* of some words, and we study the fragments of Florus and other writers who made excursions into grammar with a hope of learning the sources of Italian speech; but this hope is never rewarded. Roman literature never had a proper vernacular character. It began under a Greek inspiration, and was always drawing from Greek fountains; the rare exceptions to the rule do not give us a popular, but a class, literature. Father Ennius was not even a Latin, but Oscan and Greek. The Latin tragedy was at first little more than a translation of Greek; Plautus was an Umbrian, a sort of Irishman in London, who came to Rome to work for Rome in a mill; but even he only worked over the "New Comedy" of Athens into such shapes as might please the Roman populace.

Much more might be said of the non-representative character of the Latin literature which Mr. Simcox reviews through the eight centuries of its history. His work reminds us that our college study gives us a very imperfect view of this long and mighty stream.

We are apt to forget the large spaces between different groups of Latin writers. This is partly because the best known classical writers belong to two periods, the one immediately successive to the other. But when we take up Plautus and Terence we cannot afford to forget that the first died B. C. 184, and the second B. C. 159, and represented the best days of the republic. From the death of Terence to the composition of the earliest oration of Cicero which has come down to us nearly a century elapsed, and during that century the republic reached the height of its power, and matured the harvests of moral and political disorder which were soon to ruin it. That entire century produced no great literary name, unless Lucretius is counted worthy of such honor. Taking up the eight writers usually read in colleges—Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, and Tacitus—we see that seven of them represent collectively but little more than a half

century. From Cæsar's violent end to the death of Livy there are only sixty-two years, and this short space may be considered about as long as the literary activity (of all these classical authors which is represented in their extant works. In Tacitus we pass into literature a century nearer to us than that of Livy, and here the student usually ends the Latin course of study.

Mr. Simcox, following the usage which makes a literary epoch mark of the death of Julius Cæsar, treats Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust as literary men of the last age of the republic, and assigns Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Livy to the Augustan Age. But it may be doubted whether this division has much literary value. At all events, there seems to be a serious defect in a system of Latin study which confines the student chiefly to sixty years of the eight centuries through which the literature of the Romans runs. When Plautus is read we get as close to the beginning as is desirable; but the five centuries which followed the death of Livy ought not to be represented by Tacitus alone. Dipping into Juvenal, Martial, and Quintilian adds something to our knowledge of the contemporaries of Tacitus. But the study which stops here leaves us midway in the course of the stream which rolls on four centuries after the death of Juvenal.

Those who make use of Latin for historical, theological, and linguistic studies have to forage on the wider field. Lucan, Seneca, Suetonius, Apuleius, Ammianus, Ausonius, Claudian, and a host of inferior writers, have to be studied as well as the Christian Fathers. Our colleges which are specializing in other fields would do well to consider the propriety of equipping a few students each year for the literary careers opened by a wide acquaintance with the literature of Rome.

Mr. Simcox aims to popularize his subject, to enable the "cultivated laity" to get an intelligible and interesting view of Latin literature. He does not require that his reader should be able to read Latin, but he has failed to relieve that reader from the task of consulting other books. The chronological table is a good one, but it would be a great convenience if the birth and death of each writer (so far as known) were given at the beginning of the separate account of each author, and additions to the bibliography and bibliography would have improved the work. There are other blemishes, such as placing the death of Livy in 18 A. D. in the chronology, and in 16 in the text. But the work is one which our readers will find as interesting as its theme is inviting. Mr. Simcox writes clearly, with no attempt at fine writing, and

critical suggestions and hints are the more valuable for their unpretentiousness. He is often very happy in descriptions; as when he writes of Cicero's "versatile sensibility," says that Horace knew he "was born with a weak will as he was born with weak eyes," makes the best of the Æneid in the phrases, "Its sustained sweetness and dignity," "its manliness and sonorous roughness," "its simplicity and directness," and characterizes Lucan's work by the words "ferocious ingenuity." D. H. W.

In the Desert: With a brief Review of Recent Events in Egypt. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D., Author of "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," and "From Egypt to Japan." Large 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. Price, $2.

In this volume Dr. Field does not present himself to the reading public as a scientific explorer or a curious archæologist, but only as an intelligent traveler familiar with the literature of the Sinaitic Desert, seeking to transfer to the minds of others the impressions made upon him by the scenes he visited and the characters he met. His aim, he tells us in his modest preface, was not to add to the lore of scholars, but to present a "portfolio of sketches" to general readers containing a few "pictures of the desert." His fluent pen has assuredly accomplished this purpose, and that, too, in a most charming manner. His pictures of desert and mountain scenery, of tent and camp life, and of the Arab denizens of the Sinaitic peninsula are graphically and vividly drawn. He moves along the route of the ancient Israelites, from Suez to Jebel Mousa, and thence across the "Desert of the Wandering" into Palestine, with respectful and intelligent deference to the scriptural record of that marvelous historical movement. Evidently he enjoyed his journeyings, being always animated by their grand associations; and by his lively, even playful, style, he enables his unweary readers to share his enjoyment without the inconveniences and discomforts inseparable from such a trip. Perhaps the most valuable chapters of his book are the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, in which he discusses, with marked ability and without tediousness, the religious, political, and legal principles embodied in the ancient Hebrew commonwealth. His view of England in Egypt will be accepted or rejected, according to the stand-point of his readers. Those who look at recent events in that degraded land simply in the light of an ideal political morality, will not accept his opinions; others who, without wholly disregarding

such ideals, see in the late Egyptian war a conflict between a lower and a higher civilization, will agree with him in the belief that the subordination of the crescent of Islam in Egypt to the lion of England is a triumph for modern civilization, an augury of hope that in the near future the foot of the Turk will find no resting-place, either in Europe or in Asia Minor. But whatever may be the reader's theories, he will find it both a pleasant and profitable employment to read Dr. Field's interesting book.

Recollections of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, late Dean of Westminster. Three Lectures delivered in Edinburgh, in November, 1882. By GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.

This, though not pretending to be a full and complete biography of a man whom multitudes, both in Europe and America, delighted to honor, is, as far as it goes, a very satisfactory volume. It is a tribute of friendship to the memory of one endeared to the author because of his largeness both of heart and brain, of his purity of character, his fidelity in friendship, his broad philanthropy, his liberality and charity toward all who, though differing in theological opinion, were nevertheless followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. Long years of intimate friendship with the departed Dean gave Dr. Bradley the best possible opportunities to study his peculiarities and to estimate his worth. Using a free pencil, and looking at his subject through the eye of admiring friendship, he has sketched him in outline, as the frail and delicate child in his father's rectory at Alderly, as the Rugby school-boy, the Oxford student, the college tutor, the Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, the Professor of History, and the Dean of Westminster. In all these positions we see him highly esteemed and deeply loved by many. In some of them he provokes the severe criticism of conservative minds because of his outspoken and daring liberalism. Dr. Bradley also portrays his success in authorship, the personal qualities by which he won the ardent attachment of those to whom he ministered, and the broad, not to say latitudinarian, Christian charity by which, though a stanch Churchman, believing in the union of Church and State, he gave good men of all sects the warm hand of cordial fellowship. He shows him to be a man who in his sympathies "rose above the limits that divide denominations into the higher region of a common Christianity." Though he is silent respecting the concessions he sometimes made to the

rationalistic spirit of his times, yet so well has Dr. Bradley done his work in this delightful volume, that although Stanley's future biographer will doubtless give the world more of the incidents of his useful life, and enough of his correspondence to enable one to form an independent judgment of his character, yet it may be questioned whether he will give the world any clearer or clearer insight into his mind and heart than we have in these lectures.

The Religions of the Ancient World. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford; Author of "The Origin of Nations," "The Five Great Monarchies," etc. 16mo, pp. 249. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

This is a popular manual of the eight great religions of the world, written for a religious periodical, and serving to give a distinct and compendious survey. It is, of course, given from the hand of a master, in an interesting manner. From the whole the author deduces the conclusion that a science of historic religion cannot be framed without the accumulation of a larger number of materials. This is an indubitable truth, and it convicts Lenormant's *Beginning of History* of being premature in its over-confident conclusions. Yet Rawlinson deduces certain important negative conclusions. He denies the derivation of the Hebrew religion from any ethnic source; and maintains that between the Pentateuch and the Babylonian myths the difference is so great "that neither can be regarded as the original of the other." The history also refutes the theory of Comte, of three stages of theistic opinion, or any other development of theism from fetichism. Best sustained by facts is the theory of an original monotheism and a general degeneration. His last sentence is: "The only theory which accounts for all the facts—for the unity as well as the diversity of ancient religions, is that of a primeval revelation, variously corrupted through the manifold and multiform deterioration of human nature in different races and places."

The Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By GEORGE PRENTICE, D.D., Professor in Wesleyan University. Large 12mo, pp. 526. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. $2.

We have barely space to announce this work fresh from our press. The readers of our Quarterly who have read the productions of Professor Prentice in its pages will anticipate—and will

not be disappointed—that the work will be well worthy the s... ject. We have found it a biography of absorbing interest. W... expect to have furnished, in due time, a full review article.

Educational.

A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, D.D., De... Christ's Church, Oxford, and ROBERT SCOTT, D.D., Dean of Rochester, ... Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Seventh Edition. Revised and Augm... throughout with the Co-operation of Professor Drisler, of Columbia Col... New York. 4to, pp. 1776. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

The Greek-English Dictionary has grown to nearly the mag... tude of the old-time folios in a period of no great length. O... own first knowledge of this classic language we wrung throu... the Greek-Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius, and we never saw ... Greek-English one until our junior year in college. Then th... came from Boston the apparition of Pickering's, which was v... kind to undergraduates, as it provided special adaptations to t... college course, including our Græca Majora and Homer, and a... to the Greek Testament. About the same time came from l... yond sea Grove's Lexicon, which was not quite so flexible to o... needs. Then, in increased rise and some improvements, ca... Donnegan's, needing, however, to be brought to that completen... of method now current in standard dictionaries. That comple... ness was well approximated by Liddell and Scott's, on the basis ... Passow's. This present edition has received so many additio... and modifications, and from such various sources, as to have o... grown its relations to Passow, whose name is, therefore, righ... omitted from the title-page though his services are acknowledg... in the Preface. Though struggling to avoid increased size t... demands of the latest research have compelled a magnifice... magnitude in this volume. Invaluable to mature scholars, w... imagine that a smaller manual for the academic pupil will be ... demand. American scholarship has been called in to aid t... work, and special acknowledgments for important contributio... are made to Professors Driscoll, of New York; Goodwin, ... Cambridge; and Gildersleeve, of Baltimore.

Literature and Fiction.

English Literature in the Eighteenth Century. By THOMAS SERGEANT PERRY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Mr. Perry's volume is another contribution to the large number of books issued within the past few years upon the history of England during the last century. This interest in the eighteenth century is significant. We are passing through a phase in the development of thought very similar in many respects, and especially in all literary matters, to that prominent in England somewhat over a hundred years ago. "Thought," says Mr. Leslie Stephen, somewhere, "advances not in a right line, but in a series of spiral curves;" our are just now is nearly parallel to that of the second quarter of the last century. Our interest in that period, then, may well be due to our sympathy with it. In literature, especially, one observes nowadays that predominance of the critical rather than of the creative temper, that admiration for mastery of literary form, for neatness and finesse, which were characteristic of the age of Pope and Gray. No one now would speak of the literature of the Queen Anne time as De Quincey and Wordsworth habitually spoke of it. De Quincey and Wordsworth themselves are hardly read as much as they were fifteen years ago; Pope and Addison are read more. In poetry, the creative impulse that began with Cowper and Burns, and was stimulated into renewed activity by the political and sociological movements in the thirties, seems now finally dying out with Tennyson and Browning. The feeble school of medieval imitators, of which Swinburne, Morris, and Rossetti are the best representatives, is already passing out of vogue. The youngest, and just at present the most genuine, school of English verse writers have mostly formed their style on eighteenth century models. Mr. Locker, Mr. Dobson, and Mr. Gosse equal Pope in "correctness," and outdo Prior in ease.

Mr. Perry does not aim to write the history of eighteenth century literature; but to exhibit its main characteristics, and its connection with the great currents of European thought. He omits biographical details, and passes over whatever in literature is due exclusively to the peculiar individuality of the writers, as his object is rather to show how the collective thought of the century finds expression in letters. His discussion is, moreover, limited to the three principal forms of polite literature or *belles-lettres* proper

—poetry, the drama, and the essay. These he traces in some detail throughout the century, shows the causes which produced them, the laws which decided their character, and the history corresponding forms on the continent. Mr. Perry's reading in modern European literature is wide, and his book is replete with valuable facts. Indeed, the abundance of his illustrative material seems now and then to have been too much for him; he has sometimes failed to arrange it well, and to make clear the inferences he would have us draw from it. It is to this cause that we ascribe an occasional lack of method that may perplex the reader.

But in his main object Mr. Perry has succeeded admirably. He has shown very clearly what our great-grandfathers of the last century wanted in a book, and why they wanted it. "Books," says Emerson, "are for nothing but to inspire." It is so that the value of a book is conceived in an age of creation and of impulse. Men ask only that it suggest some new thought, stir some passion, strengthen some resolve—be in some wise helpful. But it was not thus that a book was judged by the men of Pope's time. To them a poem or an essay was simply a finished work of art. It was proof of skill, of refinement and lettered culture. Man, said they, is not a hero and an adventurer: he belongs in drawing-rooms. It is a well-bred literature that he ought to have. Unregulated impulse and lawless emotion are forbidden in conversation; certainly men ought to show their good breeding as much in their writing as in their talking. Thus viewed, literature becomes really a part of manners; a social accomplishment to be appreciated by all, though beyond the reach of most. A kind of perfected conversation, with the wit and innuendo and sparkle of the best talkers pruned of all irrelevant matter, and confined in regular verse,—that is Pope's poetry. Now we do not know where the growth of this temper and the causes of it are explained in more clear and interesting fashion than in Mr. Perry's book.

The limitations which Mr. Perry has imposed upon his discussion exclude altogether some of those men who were most truly representative of their age, and have left the deepest impress upon its intellectual history. Philosophy and politics engrossed the attention of some of the ablest men of the last century; but of philosophy and politics Mr. Perry has nothing to say. We get no mention of Burke or of Hume, and only the briefest incidental reference to Berkeley and to Swift. It is perhaps from this limitation of his theme that Mr. Perry seems to have given too little importance to political and social conditions in the

statement of the causes to which the distinctive temper and form of last century literature are to be ascribed. The rise of the periodical essay, and of the novel in particular, seems to us to be due almost entirely to such causes. They owed next to nothing to foreign influences or examples; but were a genuine English product, the result of new conditions in English society and politics.

The book is disfigured by numerous errors of the press.

C. T. W.

Miscellaneous.

The Gospel by Mark. According to the Authorized Version, in Phonetic Spelling. By C. W. K. For a First Reading Book. Square 16mo, pp. 118. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1882.

This little pamphlet aims to furnish a specimen of phonetic spelling for public adoption. It is not unpleasing to the eye, and can be easily understood at sight by any master of our current orthography. How far it excels the methods proposed by others, we are not sufficiently versed in details to express an opinion. We are prepared, like good Catholics, to accept the decisions of the best "center of unity" that can be established.

Sunday Laws. By Hon. E. L. FANCHER, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 14. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

The views of an able jurist, showing and maintaining the wisdom of the Sabbath institution, and its basis in the genius of our government.

The Church Lyceum, Its Organization and Management. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, A.M., Author of "Young Workers in the Church; or, The Training and Organization of Young People for Christian Activity," and President of the Representative Lyceum of Philadelphia. With an Introduction by Bishop HENRY W. WARREN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

We expect to furnish a full Review Article of this book by an amply competent hand.

Energy. Efficient and Final Cause. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., D.L., Author of "The Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotion," etc; President of Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 55. Paper. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

THE TOBACCO QUESTION. Three Essays. *The Evils of the Use of Tobacco by Christians.* By Rev. I. L. KEPHART, A.M. *The Tobacco Habit—Its Nature and Guilt.* By Rev. M. R. DRURY, A.M. *If Burn, then Tobacco.* By Rev. M. H. AMBROSE, A.M. With an Introduction by Prof. LANDIS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 175. Dayton, O.: United Brethren Publishing House. 1882.

Shakespeare's History of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Square 8vo, pp. 161. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Two Noble Kinsmen. Written by the Memorable Worthies of Their Time, Mr. JOHN FLETCHER and Mr. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Formerly Head-Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. Square 8vo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Christmas Tree. A Story of German Domestic Life. By HENRIETTA SEXTON. 16mo, pp. 279. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

One Winter's Work. By Mrs. A. M. M. PAYNE, Author of "Rhoda's Correspondent," "The Cash Boy's Trust," "Across the Water," etc. 16mo, pp. 231. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1882. 8vo, pp. 101. Columbus, O.: Ohio State Journal Printing Establishment. 1883.

Proceedings of the New England Methodist Historical Society, at the Third Annual Meeting, January 15, 1883. 8vo, pp. 31. Boston: Society's Rooms, 36 Bromfield-street. 1883.

Prophetic Dates; or, the Days, Years, Times, and other Epochs Spoken of by the Prophets, which Point Out the Rise and Fall of Kingdoms and Churches, the Coming of Christ, the End of the World, and the Resurrection. By Rev. J. J. CLEVELAND. 16mo, pp. 83. For sale by Rev. J. B. Hill, San Francisco, Cal. 1883.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *It Was a Lover and His Lass.* A Novel. By Mrs. OLIPHANT, Author of "The Chronicles of Carlingford," "The Greatest Heiress in England," etc. *My Connaught Cousins.* A Novel. By the Author of "The Queen of Connaught," "Madge Dunraven," etc. *Bid Me Discourse.* A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY. *James and Philip Van Arteveld.* Two Episodes in the History of the Fourteenth Century. By JAMES HUTTON, Author of "Missionary Work in the Southern Seas," etc. *George Vanbrugh's Mistake.* A Novel. By H. BADEN PRITCHARD, Author of "Old Charlton," "Dangerfield," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Harper's Bazar. Vol. XVI. No. 5. 1883.

Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information Relating to All Ages and Nations. Seventeenth Edition. Containing the History of the World to the Autumn of 1881. By BENJAMIN VINCENT, Librarian of the Royal Institution of Great Britain; Cor. Mem. Hist. Soc., New York. Revised for American Readers. 8vo, pp. 796. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Shandon Bells. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK. Author of "A Princess of Thule," "Macleod of Dare," "Madcap Violet," "That Beautiful Wretch," "Sunrise," etc., etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 414. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Old Greek Education. By J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor, Trinity Coll., Dublin; Knight of the Order of the Saviour; Author of "Social Life in Greece," "A History of Greek Literature," "A Primer of Greek Antiquities," etc. 12mo, pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1882.

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